

**NON - MUSLIM MINORITIES AND TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY: A  
RESEARCH THROUGH ARMENIAN AND GREEK LITERARY WORKS**

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **NON-MUSLIM MINORITIES AND TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY: A RESEARCH THROUGH ARMENIAN AND GREEK LITERARY WORKS**

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The purpose of this study is to concentrate on the changing discourses in Turkish history and their constitutive themes in positioning the self–image of the minorities, i.e., Armenians and Greeks, the Turks being “other”. The research is carried out on the basis of the literary works produced by the intellectuals / authors of these minorities. The historical context, which is taken as the reference point for these discourses, covers the period from the late Ottoman Period up to the early 1960s. Furthermore, the study explores how the ethnic minorities constructed their identities in the last century. This study also seeks to find out which discourses have been the leading ones through history and to determine the continuities and ruptures in the use of themes by these ethnic groups to construct their identities. In addition, policies and ideologies attributed to the state by the minorities are tackled with the literary works and main discursive elements used by minority groups to (de)construct Turkish national identity are explored.

**Keywords:** Nationalism, National Identity, Ethnic Identity, Minorities, Discourse Analysis, Literary Works

## ÖZ

### **GAYRI MÜSLİM AZINLIKLAR VE TÜRK ULUSAL KİMLİĞİ: ERMENİ VE RUM EDEBİ ESERLERİ ÜZERİNDEN BİR ARAŞTIRMA**

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Tezin amacı gayrimüslim azınlıkların, yani Ermenilerin ve Rumların, “öteki” Türkler karşısında kendi imajlarını / kimliklerini nasıl konumladıklarını, kimliklerin kurucu temalarını ve tarih sürecinde değişen söylemlerini saptamaktır. Bu analiz, hedeflenen amaca ulaşabilmek için gayrimüslim azınlıklara dahil olan entellektüel ve yazarlara ait edebi eserler üzerinden yürütülmektedir. Bu söylemlere referans olan tarihsel süreç ise geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminden 1960'lara kadar gelmektedir. Tarih boyunca öne çıkan bu söylemler ile azınlıkların kendi imaj ve kimliklerini nasıl kurduğu, hangi konularda bu temaların süreklilik ve kesiklik arzettiği incelenmektedir. Söylem analizi etnik kimliklerin kendilerini tanımladıkları alanda öne çıkan temaların sürekliliği ve süreksizliğini göstermesi açısından araştırmayı kolaylaştıran bir yöntem olmuştur. Çalışma, azınlıkların devlete isnat ettikleri ideolojik ve politik uygulamaları incelemenin yanısıra, bu grupların Türk ulusal kimliğini nasıl yapı bozumuna uğrat –ama –tığı göstermeye çalışmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Milliyetçilik, Ulusal Kimlik, Etnik Kimlik, Azınlıklar, Söylem Analizi, Edebi Eserler

To My Parents  
Emine and Nedim Savařkan

and

Prof. Dr. Rařit Kaya

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOA	The Ottoman Archives of Prime Ministry
EOKA	<i>Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston</i> - National Organization of Cypriot Fighters
ETA	<i>Euskadi Ta Askatasuna</i> - The Basque Fatherland and Liberty group
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NOI	National Organization of Intelligence
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
RPP	The Republican People's Party
TESEV	<i>Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı</i> - Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
TGNA-TBMM	Turkish Grand National Assembly – <i>Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi</i>
TİP/TCP	<i>Türkiye İşçi Partisi</i> – Turkish Workers Party
TÜYAP	Fairs and Exhibitions Organizations
USA	The United States of America

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Since the late 1980s, nationalist movements in Europe and in the world, ethnic conflicts, newly founded nation-states, and minority rights have become the major issues on the global agenda. Nationalist movements and ethnic conflicts in Bosnia, Somalia and Chechnya have been the main source of conflicts and they drew the boundaries of new nation-states. In parallel to these developments, the widespread use of the communication instruments on the global level have kept political conflicts on the agenda. Such kinds of political and ethnic conflicts had their effects on the academic world too. Modernist scholars, who predicted that ethnic conflicts would come to an end with the emergence of nation-states, have started to rediscuss issues such as nationalism, ethnicity and ethnic identity. Issues such as nationalism, ethnic identity and minorities, which have become interest points for both the international and academic communities, have had their influence on Turkey too, especially with Turkey's bid to become a member of the European Union.

Minority rights, which can be considered as a *sine qua non* to become a member of the European Union, are always hotly debated in Turkish political life, especially in recent years. Minority rights and the extent to which these rights are allowed to be enjoyed have become issues of negotiation between Turkey and the European Union. The reopening of the ecclesiastical school in *Heybeliada* and returning assets of the minority foundations that were confiscated by the state are among some of the demands of the European Union. The Turkish government reacts to such demands emphasizing the ethnic and multi-cultural richness of Turkey.

The academic studies in Turkey deal with minority issues mainly with the realm of Turkish nationalism (Bali, 2001; Bora, 1995, 2003; Okutan, 2004). The impact of the ideology and policies of Turkish nationalism on minorities is the main focus of these studies. Nonetheless, the way in which the minorities see and represent themselves has not been examined sufficiently. For this reason, the research in this study is focused on the self-evaluation of non-Muslim minorities in view of the dominant Turkish nationalism and identity.

Ayhan Koçođlu's books titled "the Young People from Minorities are Telling" (2001) and "I Remember" (2003) are among the very few contemporary studies based on self-evaluation of minorities. The author, who interviewed 46 young people from minority groups for his first book, declines to disclose the names of the persons that he interviewed in order to gain their confidence to freely express themselves. For his second book, the author interviewed people from minority groups who are older than sixty years. The author reports that only 13 of the 28 people with whom he got in contact accepted to be interviewed. Even those who accepted his offer hesitated to freely express everything that they had experienced.

The insufficiency and low reliability of "hard data" on today's minorities' perception of the Turks create limitations, and necessitate careful and precautionary analyses. Our conviction about the determinant role of history in shaping the minds and hearts of minority groups in their perception of Turks was a crucial factor which led this study to focus on the literary works, which are fictions where emotions and thoughts are more freely expressed. Literary works are an appropriate medium through which minorities can express themselves. Most of the literary works that are analyzed carefully and discreetly in this study narrate the historical events, which occurred from the first half of the 19th century until 1960s. This is the period in which the attitudes, stereotypes and perceptions of both the Turks and non - Muslim minorities were shaped in relation to one another. Historical events in this period played a crucial role in forming and consolidating minority identities.

Literary works are the freest medium through which minorities narrated their history and expressed their feelings. It is possible to observe derogatory remarks and stories which despise and even insult the Turks. Most of these literary works were published in their original language (either Armenian or Greek) to be read by the Armenians or the Greeks living outside of Turkey. The books were translated into Turkish only in late 1980s. The books provided the best source to discern the attitudes, stereotypes and perceptions of non-Muslim minorities towards the "other", i.e., Turks. They have functioned and they are still functioning as powerful

instruments to shape ethnic and national consciousness of both minority groups. Evidently, literary works do not pretend to be impartial. While most of the literary works that are analyzed in this study pretend to be based on real events, they surely distort historical facts. However, distortion, reconstruction and exclusion of historical facts and events in the analyzed literary works can be considered as an asset for this study. The omitted and excluded events in these novels are as essential as the over-emphasized and constantly repeated ones to build-up and consolidate the victimized Greek and Armenian identity. In that sense, literary works provide the best possible medium to examine the way in which the minorities defined themselves vis a vis the Turkish identity. Furthermore, this study is not concerned with determining whether the events narrated in these novels are historically true.

This study prioritizes the discursive strategies used by the minority groups to define their identity vis a vis the Ottoman-Turkish identity. This is a new focus in the academic literature on minorities. Undoubtedly, the particular emphasis given to the discourse and the role of ideology in this study does not repudiate the value and strength of conventional methods of inquiry such as interviews, surveys, panel studies, etc. While these are all crucial for every analyst who seeks to study minorities, they fail to give a fair account of the discursive elements used for the construction of the Greek or Armenian identity. The historical construction of the Armenian and Anatolian Greek ethnic/minority identities vis a vis the Turkish identity through literary works is examined through a genealogical analysis.

The thesis concentrates on the changing discourses in Turkish history and their constitutive themes / elements in positioning the self-image of the minorities, i.e., Armenians and Greeks, the Turks being “other”. This analysis, as indicated above, is carried out on the basis of the literary works produced by the intellectuals / authors of these minorities.

The historical context that is taken as the reference point for these discourses covers the period from the late Ottoman Period up to the early 1960s. Furthermore, the study seeks to explore how the ethnic minorities constructed their identities in the last century. The study seeks to find out which discourses

have been the leading ones through history and to determine the continuities and ruptures in the use of themes by the ethnic groups to construct their identities.

In order to realize this purpose, the study's objectives are to

- define the policies and ideologies attributed to the state to tackle with the minorities in the literary works,
- define the main discursive elements used by the minority groups to (de)construct Turkish identity, and
- analyze and interpret the hidden meanings and interrelations between these discursive elements.

The Thesis is composed of seven chapters. The second chapter following introduction explains the theoretical dimensions and general framework. The third chapter explicates the methodology that will be applied in the analysis of the literary works and introduces the literary works and the authors. The fourth, fifth and sixth chapters provide a historical analysis of the findings in the literary works. The last chapter, after giving a brief review of the study, comments on the findings and results.

In the second chapter, as mentioned above, a theoretical framework is established on ethnic identities and nationalism. Two non-Muslim groups in Turkey; i.e., Armenians and Anatolian Greeks provide the basic information on ethnic identities and nationalism required to discuss the definition and construction of their identities. In this theoretical framework, Gellner (1983), Smith (1992) and Anderson's (1990) arguments, which may be related to Turkish nationalism, are also discussed.

In the third chapter, the criteria used for the selection of the literary works, the names, the subject matters and the authors of the works are enlisted. By doing so, the literary works considered as the unit of analyses, namely the data of analysis, are introduced and the background driving the borders of the research is determined as well. In the same chapter, the research methodology of the study, i.e. discourse analysis, is presented. Discourse analysis, which searches the dominant forms and the content of the relation between power and knowledge,

became a commonly used methodology to study the political ideologies, cultural and social movements in the late 1980's (Torfing, 1999).

The amount of information, the possible levels and layers of analysis and the difficulty of organizing the data overwhelmed me. Since my aim was to look for the construction of Armenian and Greek identity and their perception of Turks, I decided to focus on one area of the stories narrated in the literary works. The paper presents only a cross-section of the literary works written by Greek and Armenian writers over the past one hundred years and does not claim to examine all sources and influences from which knowledge has been constructed. 20 literary works (10 Armenian and 10 Anatolian Greek) out of 29 were selected under the guidance of intellectuals and researchers who belong to minority groups. In translating excerpts from literary works, I tried to remain loyal to the original syntax. In some cases, where it was not possible to make a translation that makes sense by remaining loyal to the original wording and syntax, I slightly changed the texts to better reflect the idea conveyed.

In the following three chapters, the leading discourses in literary works are analyzed under three categories successively; i.e., Late Ottoman Period, Early Republican Period and Ethnic identities. As the main endeavor of this study is to examine and compare how the Armenian and Greek minorities have constructed and consolidated their ethnic identities against the Turkish identity, comparative analysis (which has always had a central place in social theory) is considered to be appropriate. It is only thanks to comparison that we are able to see what is not there, in other words to understand the significance of a particular absence (Burke 1992: 23). No social phenomenon can be isolated and studied without comparing it to other social phenomena. Social scientists engage actively in the process of comparative work whenever concepts are chosen, operationalized or fitted into the theoretical structures (Oyen 1990: 4).

Following the steps stated in the methodology chapter, in the three analysis chapters, evidences of inter-relationships between discourses are investigated. Furthermore, absences, silences and counter arguments in discourses are discovered. Through this method, the process of the identity formation is

examined as “an ongoing process rather than as snapshots of the web” (Kendall & Wickman, 1999; Carabine, 2001). This genealogical reading method has made it possible to determine the discourses through which minority identities are constructed in the historical process. Rather than taking a picture of an historical fragment within the social network, the process of identity construction is evaluated from a historical perspective. In this endeavor, the historical backgrounds of the events are particularly examined.

In conclusion, in this analysis it is argued that due to the historical causes, which would be explained in this study, there emerges a self-image of the minorities as the repressed / dominated “other”, who is justified in carrying out struggles for “liberation” and independence against the “cruel” Turks. Yet, as it would be explained in the study, this “negative” image of the Turks is associated with the “political authority” while the “ordinary” Turkish people, sometimes, are presented through the terms of “brotherhood” and “peaceful co-existence”.

In a number of the analyzed literary works of the Anatolian Greek and Armenian authors, there exists a theme of a relationship of brotherhood with the Turks. However, whenever the characters experience a social or political problem, the theme of “brotherhood” is disregarded and the ethnic and religious differences are emphasized. Thus, the themes narrated in the works range from antagonism to friendship. On the one side of the spectrum, there are “enemy Muslims and Turks who deserved to be eliminated” and, on the other side, there are “Muslims and Turks who are the friends of Armenians and Greeks”. The statement “we are friends, we have lived together but we are still different” is quite dominant in the literary works. This theme enhanced the internal bonds of communities and consolidated the community identity. Differences are constantly emphasized in order to point out that the claims of homogeneity cannot be ensured unless equal and democratic conditions are provided. The literary works remind the Turks and the Turkish Republic that the equal and democratic conditions were not realized.

## CHAPTER 2

### NATIONALISM, ETHNICITY AND MINORITIES

*“The Spartan chant:  
‘We are what you make us; we are what you are’  
is simply the abbreviated hymn of the Fatherland.”\**

By the late 1980s, nationalist movements, ethnic violence and minority rights dominated the global agenda. Nationalist movements and ethnic violence surged in many parts of the world. As a result of these developments, cultural distinctiveness of population groups and minority rights are frequently emphasized by Western states and international agencies. Academic world has not remained uninterested to these historic events. Serious intellectual efforts have been put to analyze the reemergence and resilience of ethnic identity.

Actually, the emergence of nationalist and ethnic based movements was a major blow to modernist assumptions. Not long ago, scholars such as Lipset (1990), Rokkan (1975) and Birch (1989) were assuming that the spread of modernity would reduce the salience of ethnicity (Paddison, 1993: 60). In contrast to their predictions, nationalist and ethnic revival and reemergence of identity problem became the primary issues in the late twentieth century. This revisionism, i.e. reinterpretation of new ethnicity, is related to “reinterpreted and even reinvented” ethnic identities (Anderson, 2001: 215).

Nationalism, as an ideological movement, has deep roots. Discussion varies from “millennial Christianity” to “the printing press and especially newspapers”. Smith and Hutchinson asserted that classical humanism goes back to Northern Italian thinkers such as Bruno Latini and Machiavelli (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 5-6). Some founding fathers of nationalism, such as Kant, Fichte, and Rousseau evaluated nationalism as an ideological movement. Their perspective gave inspirations to their followers “for autonomy and self-government, for unity and autarchy, and for authentic identity” (Kemilainen, 1964, quoted from Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 4). Nationalism was considered as a “doctrine of popular freedom

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\* Renan, 1882: 28, quoted from Smith & Hutchinson, 1994: 17.

and sovereignty” that people must control and determine their own destiny and resources over a territory. This nationalist ethos is then transferred to future generations. This is their “expression of authentic identity” (4).

Scientific studies on nationalism, which were largely neglected until the early years of the twentieth century, entered to their golden age especially after 1960’s with the process of de-colonization and the foundation of the new states in the Third World. Nationalism became a popular topic for anthropologists, political scientists, sociologists, and social psychologists. This interdisciplinarity brought the problem of finding a common theoretical framework and definition for nationalism and ethnicity. The variety and multiplicity of subjects<sup>1</sup> to be studied has also led to the diversification of theoretical frameworks and levels of analysis. It is possible to talk about various various nationalisms such as religious nationalism, liberal nationalism, fascist nationalism, integrationist nationalism, diaspora nationalism etc. All these classifications are also valid for ethnicity(ies). A final reason for differences in research is the “[f]luidity and variety of national sentiments, national aspirations, and national cultural values create another obstacle to systematic research, as do the many differences in national identities” (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 3).

The variety in theoretical methods and levels of analysis are also reflected in the definition of nationalism. Some scholars equate the term with national sentiments, others with nationalist ideology and language, and others again with nationalist movements. While some stress political aspects, others emphasize cultural aspects. For Smith and Hutchinson a synthesis is possible when “the ideology and movement incorporate political and cultural dimensions” (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 4).

The study of the historical evaluation of nationalism and different approaches that conceptualize the term is quite relevant for this study which dwells on the identity problems of two non-Muslim groups (Armenians and Greeks) in Turkey. The study seeks to determine the way in which these groups define themselves against

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<sup>1</sup> Race and racism, fascism, ethnic conflict, international law, protectionism, minorities, gender to language development, communalism, immigration, and genocide are among some topics which are discussed within studies of nationalism and ethnicity.

Turkish national identity. Therefore, in this chapter, first basic theoretical concepts of nationalism and ethnic identity are reviewed. Through this review, a theoretical framework is established to discuss the positioning of these two minority groups vis à vis Turkish identity. This evaluation is also useful to explain the construction of Turkish national identity.

In the late Ottoman period, the Empire has lost most of its lands in Europe due to the nationalist movements in the Balkans. The loss of land led to the movements of reform and to emergence of Turkish nationalism. In 1820s Greece established an independent state and seceded from the Empire. The Armenians, who followed the same method for independence, established a short lived state between 1918 and 1920. In the analysis of the discourses in late Ottoman period chapter the ethnic nationalist movements of Anatolian Greeks and Armenians and their struggle for independence are frequently stated. These two ethnic groups which used to live as the subjects of the Ottoman Empire established their own states after a struggle for independence. The conceptualization of the Turks as the “other” gave an impetus to the nationalist movements of both ethnic groups. After the foundation of modern Turkey these groups determined their self-identity as opposed to the Turkish meta-identity. In the sixth chapter, the construction of minority identity and their self-perception is further explored on the basis of the theoretical framework established in this chapter. The study focuses on self-image of minorities and the way in which they defined themselves as opposed to Turkish nationalism. Instead of elaborating Turkish nationalism and its evolution in a separate chapter, necessary explanations are given where they are relevant. In this chapter in which theoretical framework of the study is drawn, the comments and definitions of the prominent figures of Turkish nationalism are stated.

In this chapter, after a brief review of philosophical elaborations on nationalism, three main approaches to nationalism; namely, primordialism, modernism and new approaches are examined. Instead of elaborating on each approach in detail, only particular points of each approach, which are related to the context of this study, are examined. The context of our study is shown in *Figure 1*. A particular emphasis is given to the modernist approach, which offers the most relevant framework to discuss Turkish nationalism. Under this section, instrumentalist-

political, socio-cultural and ethno-symbolist interpretations of nationalism are evaluated on the basis of the works of leading scholars. After the study of theoretical approaches to nationalism with specific references to the case of Turkey, the issue of ethnicity is discussed in the last section and the relationship between nationalism and ethnicity is explained.

The evolution of the studies on nationalism can be studied in four stages<sup>2</sup>: 18th and 19th centuries, emergence of the idea; 1915 and 1945, the years of academic inquiry; 1945 and 1980, multi disciplinarity; 1980 to the present, “attempts to transcend the ‘classical’ debate”. (Özkırımlı, 2000: 15). In the last three stages, the study of nationalism had a more scientific character than philosophical. As scientific discussions on nationalism are further evaluated, philosophical debates on nationalism are reviewed in the following section.

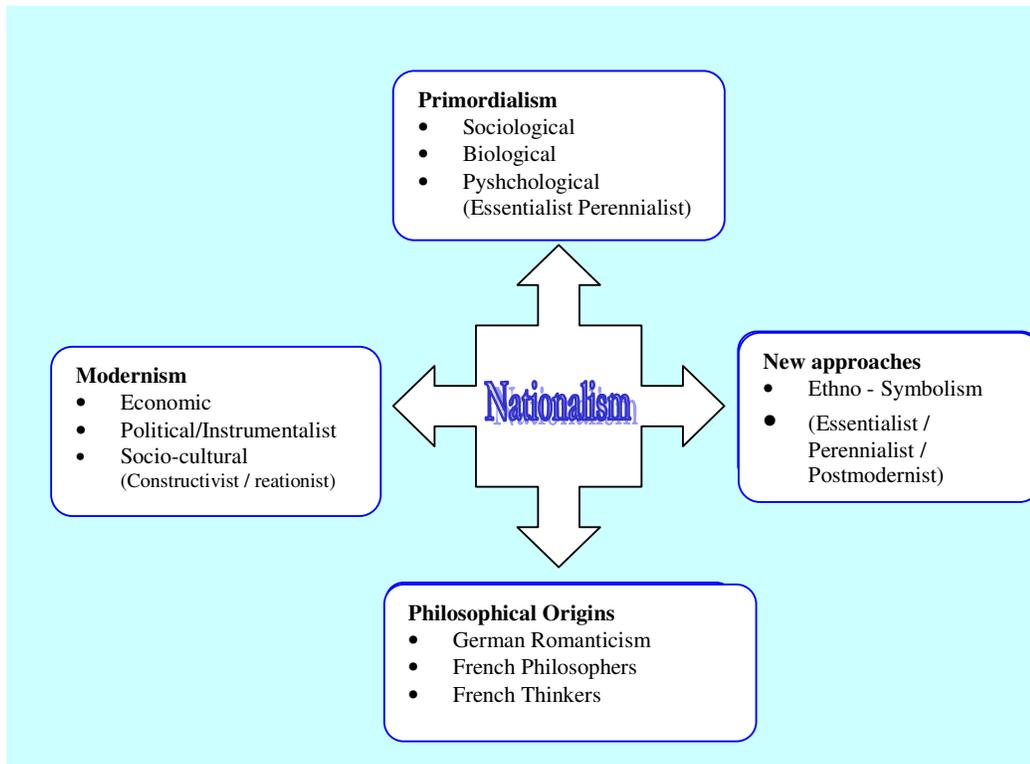


Figure 1. Typologies and Classifications of Nationalism

<sup>2</sup> Smith (1999:184) gives several typologies and classifications of nationalism in his article. Synder’s typology, similar to Özkırımlı chooses a four-stage periodization: “1815-71 – ‘integrative’ nationalism; 1871-1900 – ‘disruptive’ nationalism; 1900-1945 – ‘aggressive’ nationalism; 1945-? - ‘contemporary’ world-wide nationalism.” A recent typology is formulated by Hugh Seton – Watson. They distinguish between “old, continuous nations” and “new” nations such as Serbs, Croats.

In order to understand the theoretical debate on nationalism as a political doctrine or ideology, the ideas on nationalism should be traced back to their origins. Debates on nationalism devolved around German Romantics and French intellectuals in the 18<sup>th</sup> century can be considered a product of the Enlightenment<sup>3</sup> (Kedourie, 1961: 9-10). Some pundits of nationalism skip this period and lay the foundations of nationalism mainly on the works of Durkheim. Nationalism is considered as “a modern and secular surrogate for religion, emerging mostly in the painful period of transition to modernity” (Smith, 1998: chap. 5 quoted from Özkırımlı, 2000: 13-14).

Another source for nationalism in the eighteenth century was French revolution that was put into practice the notion of nation legally and politically. Nation was taken as “a legitimate source of political power ... ‘the idea of a shared, common, equal citizenship, the unity of the people’ ” (Baycroft, 1998: 362 quoted from Özkırımlı, 2000: 21). By the early nineteenth century nationalism is discussed in two ways. While some of them were sympathetic<sup>4</sup> and justified particular forms of it, others were quite skeptical and critical to it.<sup>5</sup> Marxists were the most critical group to nationalism. For them, nationalism is “false consciousness” which takes the proletariat from the internationalism. It is not acceptable for them to put nationalism into the place of class. Proletariat struggles against bourgeoisie in order to construct socialism, not nationalism. For Özkırımlı both approaches took nationalism and nations as given, nobody questioned “naturalness” of the concepts (2000: 22). Moreover, these thinkers accepted the supremacy of the political unity and freedom of individual. The concepts of autonomy, unity and identity have been studied because “Rousseau, Herder,

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<sup>3</sup> In 1960s the contemporary theories of nationalism reflects earlier ideas for instance, “Gramscian effect on Tom Nairn, Lenin on Michael Hechter, Durkheim on Ernest Gellner, and Weber on Anthony D. Smith” (Özkırımlı, 2000:14).

<sup>4</sup> The partisans of nationalism were mainly the historians. Nationalist historians discovered or even “created” some elements to justify the roots of their nation. For this purpose customs, myths, symbols and rituals, which support the cultural existence of a nation, are (re)invented (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). For detailed information see (Özkırımlı, 2000: 22-25).

<sup>5</sup> English historian Lord Acton’s work (1834-1902) is accepted as the critical nationalist studies. Acton criticizes John Stuart Mill’s Republican citizenship and nationalism. Nationalism, for him is very dangerous since it has a potential for excised enthusiasm for the past times. Moreover it has a revolutionary doctrine based on the supremacy of the right of nationality. It can be more criminal than theory of socialism. Nationalism can turn easily into revolution and despotism (1999: 36-37).

Fichte, Korais, and Mazzini popularized them in Western and Central Europe” (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 5). Furthermore,

They have also underpinned the more specific goals of nationalist movements, most of which have been founded and inspired by intellectuals. In most of these movements it has been possible to discern a pattern of mobilization, which has been described by Miroslav Hroch in the Eastern European case. Starting with elite of intellectuals, the movement has subsequently fanned out to include the professional-classes, who have often acted as political agitators, and finally has been broadened to other sectors of society-the masses of clerks, artisans, workers, and even peasants. Of course, not all movements have reached this final phase. Sometimes the middle sectors have been wary of involving the lower strata. Hence we cannot say, with Tom Nairn, that nationalism is always an interclass and populist movement, though it usually seeks to present itself that way (Nairn 1977: ch. 2; Hroch 1985, quoted from Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 5).

Meanwhile, Durkheim and Weber did not particularly deal with nationalism but focused more on sociology. For this reason, some ideas related to nationalism can be traced from their studies. Religion and collective consciousness are ascribed to nationalism. Durkheim is mostly influential in the modernist paradigm, specifically in Gellner’s works on nationalism. An emphasis on religion, rituals and symbols in societies indicate their complementary roles for the collective conscious. Later, the division of labor takes their place in modern societies, i.e. transition from mechanical to organic solidarity (Özkırımlı, 2000: 34).

Durkheim’s work has never contained an explicit theory of nationalism. He used the term patriotism instead of nationalism. “Human groups that are united by a political bound” is proposed as a definition of nationality. Thus, nationality meant possessing a unity with political society. State is in the process of becoming that refers to “the agents of sovereign authority”. Nation is “a group that is both ‘state’ and ‘nationality’”. Patriotism means “as a sentiment that joins the individual to the political society in so far as those who get to make it up feel themselves attached to it by a bond of sentiment” (Guibernau, 1996: 28-9).

For Weber (1948 quoted from Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 21), the nation was a political concept.<sup>6</sup> Members of a nation at a given time mean that they have a

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<sup>6</sup> Unlike Weber’s political definition of nation, Stalin put emphasis on economic life for a nation. A nation is “a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture. It is only when all these characteristics are present together that we have a nation.” (Stalin, 1973: 57-58)

specific sentiment of solidarity. Nation as a concept consists of values but “there is no agreement on how these groups should be delimited or about what concerted action should result from such solidarity”. Nation does not mean “people of a state” and a nation does not need a community speaking language.<sup>7</sup>

If one believes that it is at all expedient to distinguish national sentiment as something homogeneous and specifically set apart, one can do so only by referring to a tendency toward an autonomous state. And one must be clearly aware of the fact that sentiments of solidarity, very heterogeneous in both their nature and their origin, are comprised within national sentiments (Weber, 1948 quoted from Smith & Hutchinson, 1994: 25).

For Weber, nationalism without an economic origin is based on sentiments of prestige, “which often extend deep down to the petty bourgeois masses of political structures rich in the historical attainment of power-positions.” This political prestige is very important, since it necessitates a belief in the responsibility towards the next generations. Power structures distribute their own power and prestige between their own and foreign polities. Those who own power conduct a polity for power prestige then they remain most trustable holders of the state idea. Intellectually privileged with political prestige, power-holders may think of themselves

as being the specific ‘partners’ of a specific ‘culture’ diffused among the members of the polity. Under the influence of these circles, the naked prestige of ‘power’ is unavoidably transformed into other special forms of prestige and especially into the idea of the ‘nation’ (Weber, 1948 quoted from Smith & Hutchinson, 1994: 21).

Another thinker of this period is Ernest Renan (1823-92) who offered the most important analysis of his time and gave much inspiration to ideological construction of new nation states such as Turkish Republic. He gives requirements for being a nation; a common heroic past, great leaders and true glory in definition with race, language or religion. Nation, for Renan:

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<sup>7</sup> “In ordinary language, “‘nation’ is, first of all, not identical with the ‘people of a state’, that is, with the membership of a given polity. Numerous polities comprise groups among whom the independence of their ‘nation’ is emphatically asserted in the face of the other groups; or, on the other hand, they comprise parts of a group whose members declare this group to be one homogeneous ‘nation’ (Austria before 1918, for example). Furthermore, a ‘nation’ is not identical with a community speaking the same language; the Serbs and Croats, the North Americans, the Irish, and the English indicate that this by no means always suffices. On the contrary, a common language does not seem to be absolutely necessary to a ‘nation’.” (Weber, 1948 quoted from Smith & Hutchinson, 1994: 25).

is a soul, a spiritual principle. Only two things, ..., constitute this soul, ... One is in the past, the other is in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of remembrances; the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to continue to value the heritage which all holds in common. ... The nation, even as the individual, is the end product of a long period of work, sacrifice and devotion.... A heroic past, of great men, of glory ... that is the social principle on which the national idea rests. To have common glories in the past, a common will in the present; to have accomplished great things together, to wish to do so again, that is the essential condition for being a nation. (Renan, 1882 quoted from Smith & Hutchinson, 1994: 17)

Past glories and the ability and will to realize the same program in the future, to work, hope together, and suffer together is more important than happiness. Since national sorrows are more significant than triumphs because they impose obligations and demand a common effort. A nation is a “grand solidarity constituted by the sentiment of sacrifices which, one has made and those that one is disposed to make again”. A common past and a desire to continue to live in one community is very important for being nation:

The existence of a nation (pardon this metaphor!) is an everyday plebiscite; it is, like the very existence of the individual, a perpetual affirmation of life. Oh! know it, this is less metaphysical than the concept of divine right, less brutal than the so-called historic right (17).

For Renan (1882 quoted from Smith & Hutchinson, 1994: 18), the existence of nations in his time was necessary since it was a “guarantee of liberty, which would be lost if the world had only one law and only one master”:

Through their varied, frequently opposing, abilities, nations serve the common cause of civilization; each holds one note in the concert of humanity, which, in the long run, is the highest ideal to which we can aspire. Isolated, they have their weaknesses.

Parallel to the emergence of liberal thought, these ideas grew at the same time with the collapse of the empires, the foundation of the nation-states. This period can be called as a transition for new political formations. Meanwhile, Ernest Renan in this period effected positively Turkish nationalist movement. Yusuf Akçura, advocating the ethnicist perspective, wanted to nationalize all assets of non-Muslim groups at the foundation period of the Turkish Republic. Along with the opposition movement, some of the founding members of Republic appropriated Renan’s nationalist ideas to stabilize strong ethnic demands. Renan’s nationalism based on land and citizenship was accepted by nationalist humanist elites such as Fuat Köprülü, Halide Edip, and Hilmi Ziya Ülken

who insisted to preserve multi ethnic social structure of the Ottoman Empire (Bora, 1995: 35).

These philosophical approaches to nationalism lay the ground for a scientific study of nationalism. Three main approaches to nationalism; namely, primordialism, modernism and new approaches are consecutively examined. The relevance of these approaches for Turkey is also discussed.

## 2.1. Primordialism

The earliest paradigm on nationalism and nations is labeled as primordialist. Some scholars argue that nations are old and their foundations go back several hundred years. While modernists believe in the modernity of nations, primordialists stress antiquity of nations.<sup>8</sup> Primordialists further argue that nations are based on ethnic, linguistic, religious or dynastic solidarities (Chatterjee, 2001: 10336).

As a primordialist, Shils emphasizes “a person’s place of origin and residence as well as their natal kin group’. He argues that primary kinship inspires loyalty even in the absence of actual emotional attachment. On the other hand, Geertz identifies primordialism with culture<sup>9</sup> (Tilley, 1997: 502):

By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the ‘givens’ –or,.. as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed ‘givens’- of social existence: immediate continuity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves (Geertz 1973: 259).

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<sup>8</sup> “Apart from the naturalist approach characterizing the writings of nationalist, primordialism appears in three different forms in the literature on nationalism. Perennialists argue that nations have always existed and that modern nations are nothing but the extensions of their medieval counterparts. Sociobiologists seek the origins of ethnic and national ties in genetic mechanisms and instincts, treating the nation as an extension of the idiom of kinship, or a kind of super family. Finally, cultural primordialists focus on the perceptions and beliefs of the individuals. What generates the strong attachments people feel for the ‘givens of social existence’, the culturalists contend, is a belief in their ‘sacredness’” (Özkırımlı, 2000: 74).

<sup>9</sup> Geertz believes that culture can be treated effectively in pure symbolic system. “Though a distinct improvement over ‘learned behavior’ and ‘mental phenomena’ notions of what culture is, and the source of some of the most powerful theoretical ideas in contemporary anthropology, ... seems to me locking cultural analysis away from its proper object, the informal logic of actual life.” (Sewell, 1999; 17). See William H. Sewell Jr (1999: 35-55) for the evaluation of Geertzian culture.

The debates among primordialist scholars led to the diversification within the school. It is possible to mention from primordialists who are perennialists, modernists, instrumentalist, naturalists, sociobiologist and culturalist.

Biological primordialists assert that ethnic attachments are formulated by people “on acting on instinct to form kin bonds, and so take their power from forces essential to the human condition”. As an extreme type of primordialism the naturalists / biologists assert that national identities are natural part of all human beings. They do not make any distinction between nations and ethnic groups. To born into a nation is similar for them to born in a family, so natural frontiers, specific origin and place, common destiny are very important (Özkırımlı 2000: 66-7; Smith 1995; 31-32).

Psychological primordialists search ethnic bonds that reflect human attachments “to the natal community, even to the natal geographic location, an orientation imbued from birth”. On the other hand, culturalist primordialists assert that “human culture shapes the meanings which constitute human perception of reality; concepts of ethnic identity then arise from the experience of difference among such meaning system” (Tilley, 1997: 499-500). The works of Geertz and Shils mostly accompanies culturalist approach. All primordial entities are accepted as priori or given. Primordial attachments are natural that presumably have long histories such as attachment to a group or its culture and language.

Cultural primordialism in a Geertzian way, ... may be defined as an approach which focuses on the webs meaning spun by the individual themselves. As Tilley explains ... Geertz is in fact 'making use of the term 'primordial' more in this sense of 'first in a series' .. in order to highlight the ways in which foundation concepts provide the basis for other ideas, values, customs or ideologies held by the individual'(Eller & Coughlan, 1993: 502, quoted from Özkırımlı, 2000: 73).

Especially in the sociobiological variant of primordialism, ethnicity comes to the forefront of discussions. Primordialists using this framework built their theories on the basis of ethnic groups and emphasized the strength of ethnic identities. They benefited from observations on animal’s social behaviors. “What sociobiology does, ..., is to supply the main genetic mechanism for animal sociality, namely kin

selection to increase inclusive fitness“ (Özkırımlı, 2000: 70). Kin selection and kinship as significant terms are necessary for both ethnicity and race.<sup>10</sup>

Especially, after the dissolution of the Ottomans and the Habsburg Empires, primordialist paradigm inspired intellectuals of the newly founded states in place of these Empires, i.e. Turkey and Austria. The elites of these new countries conceived the multi-ethnic social structure that they inherited as a threat to the process of nation-state formation. Meanwhile, ethnic groups that were in minority in these newly established states hoped to be treated as equals. Furthermore they wanted to preserve their customary life-styles and traditions under the newly established republic. However, immediately after the foundation of the Republic, the Turkish elites demanded from these groups to accept Turkish identity (Akar, 2001: 27).

Primordialist thought justified this policy and enabled the Turkish elites to create a particular genealogy for the newly established state. Özkırımlı (2000) gives an example from Turkish patriot Tekin Alp to illustrate the reflections of primordialism among the intellectuals of the early Turkish Republic. There are five leading themes in Tekin Alp: antiquity, the golden age, the superiority of the national culture, the period of recess and the national hero.

The antiquity of a particular nation:

[I]t was a high time to make the whole word and to begin with the Turks themselves, understand that Turkish history does not begin with Osman's tribe, but in fact twelve thousand years before Jesus Christ... The exploits of the Osmanli Turks constitute merely one episode in the history of the Turkish nation which has founded several other empires (Kedourie, 1971: 210 quoted from Özkırımlı, 2000: 67).

The golden age:

Whilst the rest of humanity was living in caves, leading a most primitive life, the Turk had already in his motherland become civilized enough to know the use of wood and metal... At a time when the Turks had reached a high level of culture in their own motherland, the peoples of Europe were still in a savage state and lived in complete ignorance. (216,219 quoted from Özkırımlı, 2000: 67)

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<sup>10</sup> For more detailed information please see Van Den Berghe (1978).

The theme of superiority of the national culture:

If the Turks had not entered Muslim society, the civilization which we call Islamic would not have existed.. It is because the Turks who created this movement were superior to the other Muslim peoples from the point of view of culture and civilization (221, quoted from Özkırımlı, 2000: 68).

The periods of recess:

[T]he Turks were agents of culture and progress, and ...they have never ceased to be such except when subjugated by foreign cultures and oral forces. The civilized nations must not take into account this short period of decadence, when the Turkish people were acting out of character (Kedourie, 1971:210, quoted from Özkırımlı 2000: 68).

The last theme, a national hero who awakens the nation, ending the period of decadence:

He (Kemal Atatürk) could not tolerate therefore this false conception of Turkish history which was current among some of the Turkish intellectuals... He has therefore taken it into his head to eliminate it by means of a revolutionary outburst which would subject it to the same fate as the other misconceptions from which the Turkish people have suffered for centuries (211, quoted from Özkırımlı, 2000:68).

In the process of building a nation-state, the golden age supposedly existed in the past, superiority of the national culture and existence of a national hero were all used to prove the deep roots of Turkish nation. Turkish nationalists such as Tekin Alp, therefore, advocated ideas which matched perfectly with primordialism. As the Ottoman Empire was in continuous geographic and economic retreat from sixteenth century on, the founders of the Turkish Republic was in search of a myth, a hero or a golden age to which the masses could be easily articulated in the process of nation-state formation. Ethnic groups other than the Muslims were not integrated to this project because Turkish nationalists were suspicious that non-Muslim ethnic groups were seeking to establish their own nation-states. Starting with the Greek independence in the early nineteenth century, a quite number of territories which were once ruled by the Ottoman Empire became sovereign with the support of Western powers. They encouraged non-Muslim ethnic minorities to rebel against the Empire. As a result, tensions grew among Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Muslim Albanians warred against Greeks and Serbs. Pomaks were subjected to harsh treatment by Bulgarian Christians.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> According to Helsinki Watch Report in 1989, this discretionary treatment of Muslims, especially Pomaks and Turks living in Bulgaria has continued.

The tensions were not over after dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Population exchange was the final solution to eradicate these tensions. One of the most dramatic population exchange in world history occurred between Turkey and Greece. According to statistics kept both by Ottoman and Greek governments there were 1,700,000 Greeks living in Anatolia before the First World War. After the foundation of the Republic, the Muslim population in Greece was exchanged with the Christian Greeks living in Anatolia (McCarthy, 1980: 67, 75). The Lausanne Treaty signed in 1923 determined the terms of this population exchange.

## **2.2. Modernism**

Modernism emerged as a reaction to primordialist or perennialist approach. Modernists believed that nationalism is closely related to modern state and modern politics. Decolonization movement in Asia and Africa, and emergence of new nation states strengthened their arguments and triggered the expansion of modernist models and theories. Earlier studies of this period put much emphasis on development rather than on nationalism. They examined the problem of development during the nation-building process. These studies focused on natural and historical development of nationalism. Comparative methodology was frequently used. On the basis of these comparative studies typologies were created to classify different types of nationalism (Synder; 1997: 233; Smith; 1999a: 182).

Modernization theory divides the world into two parts: traditional societies and modern societies. Rustow in his theory of “take – off” describes five stages of development. Each country passes ‘at different times, through a series of comparable stages of development’. Rustow argues that all traditional societies which follow these linear stages would be able to the level of Western states. Industrialization is the main focus of this theory which puts emphasis on the relationship between economic growth and overall societal development (Oman and Wignaraja, 1991:10). This dual structure foresees a new type of society with new values and relationship. In this evolutionary process nationalism is functional to offer a national identity for traditional societies. It provides “guidelines in such

fields as the creation of a modern educational system and of a standard national culture (Breuilly 1993: 418-9).

Nationalism was considered as a by-product and a component of modernism (Breuilly 1999: 156). Scholars such as Gellner (1983), Hobsbawm (1990), Anderson (1991) asserted that certain combination of elements give people the distinct form of a nation as a product of the modern era. A standardized language, a homogeneous national culture and an imagined horizontal community were among the preconditions of establishing a modern nation-state. National identity is explained together with popular sovereignty of the people. For Chatterjee, by the early nineteenth century main components of nationalism became parts of discourse of politics and society in the Western world. Since "nationalism has turned into a feature of our ordinary common sense is that the world is divided into nations, so that every person, under normal circumstances, is born into a nationality" (2001:10336). These identities represented with multicolored maps, identity documents such as passports, all these representations "are built on another modern doctrine that has become a truism" (10336). All modernist emphasize certain points distinctively in their theories. This is why it is very difficult to give general components of modernization approaches. Therefore, it is useful to divide them into three components on the basis of Tilley's approach: economic, political/instrumentalist, and social/cultural.

The last two approaches are discussed in detail. Only a brief explanation is given for the economist approach since this approach was not very influential among Turkish intelligentsia apart from few Marxist groups.

Economic transformation is mainly emphasized by neo Marxist school in late 1960s and 1970s. The orthodox Marxism was challenged with the emergence of anti-colonialist movements in the Third World. Marxism in early years kept its universalistic idea of political community. It regarded nationalism "as limited and transient phenomenon which, if espoused by the working class, would impede the truly emancipatory path of proletarian revolution.(Chatterjee, 2001:10337) Then,

the sympathy to anti colonialism and fight against neo imperialism brought about the acceptance of their nationalist character.<sup>12</sup>

### **2.2.1. Instrumentalist / Political Approach**

Scholars who deal with political transformation in the modern bureaucratic state and with transformation in the nature of politics can be called instrumentalists. Paul R. Brass's, Eric J. Hobsbawm's and Karl Deutch are considered the most prominent scholars of this approach. The ideas of these scholars are comparatively studied in this section.

Instrumentalists argue that ethnic and national identities are not given but they are in constant process of redefinition and reconstruction. Instrumentalist school interprets ethnicity as a pure political phenomenon. As Tilley (1997:507) argues for instrumentalists "culture does not contribute directly to the formation of ethnic identity; rather, ethnic platforms use selected customs as emblems to legitimize ethnic claims in the public domain". A powerful or political group enforces a social discipline through mass popular identification and manipulation of collective identity. Although common symbols are used to manipulate the masses, economic and political interests are the main driving forces for these political groups. Ethnicity and national themes are used to gain mass support the political and economic purposes of these political groups.

Brass, a leading figure within instrumentalist school, summarizes his basic argument on ethnicity and nationalism with "the variability of ethnic identities". This point is based on the idea that "there is nothing inevitable about the rise of ethnic identities and their transformation into nationalism among the diverse peoples of the contemporary world." Ethnic identity formations, i.e. "the conversion of cultural differences into bases for political differentiation between peoples" may arise only

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<sup>12</sup> Özkırmılı refers to Tom Nairn's ideas on uneven development and to Micheal Hechter's ideas on internal colonialism. For Nairn "theory of nationalism represents Marxism's great historical failure... [r]oots of nationalism should not be sought in the internal dynamics of individual societies, but in the general process of historical development since the end of eighteenth century."(1981:329, quoted from Özkırmılı, 2000: 88). Hechter takes nationalist model under the assimilationist perspective. He names this model "diffusion model of development" (97).

under some conditions. Brass takes this issue with two theoretical focuses. First is “the theory of elite competition as the basic dynamic which precipitates ethnic conflict under specific conditions, which arise from the broader political and economic environment rather than from the cultural values of the ethnic groups in question”. This approach is opposed to primordialist’s assumption that considers ethnic identities as given and fixed (Brass. 1991:13). Second is related to “critical role of the relationships established between elites and the state (14). Third is the process of ethnic identity formation and its persistence. Since “the cultural forms, values, and practices of ethnic groups become political resources for elites in competition for political power and economic advantage.” (15) Last one is “the process of ethnic identity formation and its transformation into nationalism is reversible”. Political and economic circumstances may cause elites to downplay or discard the symbolic manipulation of cultural forms, values, and practices and to instead seek cooperation with other groups or collaboration with the state authorities” (16). After all these arguments, Brass positions clearly himself as instrumentalist accordingly primordialists view of ethnic identity formation.

For Brass ethnic groups are “objective cultural markers but which also recognize that they are susceptible to change and variation”. So an ethnic category is:

[a]ny group of people dissimilar from other peoples in terms of objective cultural criteria and continuing within its membership, either in principle or in practice, the elements for a complete division of labor and for reproduction forms an ethnic category (1991:19)

These cultural criteria may be religion, language or custom which are variable according to types of society. It is useful to establish for a self-conscious community, i.e. ethnic group, which can easily include or exclude people from the group (1991: 19).

Like Brass, Hobsbawm also acknowledges the role of leading groups in the ethnic in the foundation of nationalism. He defines nations, nationalism, the nation-state, national symbols and so on as the products of “social engineering”. He gives Palestinian and Israeli nationalism as an example:

whatever the historic continuities of Jews or Middle Eastern Muslims, since the very concept of territorial states of the currently standard type in their region was barely thought of a century ago, and hardly became a serious prospect before the end of World War I. Standard national languages, to be learned in schools and written, let

alone spoken, by more than a smallish elite, are largely constructs of varying (Hobsbawn & Ranger, 1983: 13).

As a result of these constructions or products, “invented traditions” are set of practices, “normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition which automatically implies continuity with the past” (1983:1).

Karl Deutsch takes a slightly different approach than Brass and Hobsbawm with his “communication approach” considered to be variant of instrumentalist approach (1966, quoted from Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 26). According to Deutsch, people are “a social, economic, and political alignment of individuals from different social classes and occupations, around a center” (27):

The community which permits a common history to be experienced as common, is a community of complementary habits and facilities of communication. It requires, so to speak, equipment for a job. This job consists in the storage, recall' transmission, recombination, and reapplication of relatively wide ranges of information; and the' equipment' consists in such learned memories, symbols, habits, operating preferences, and facilities as will in fact be sufficiently complementary to permit the performance of these functions. A larger group of persons linked by such complementary habits and facilities of communication we may call a people (27).<sup>13</sup>

In order to clarify his perspective, Deutch gives an example of Swiss people. In spite of four spoken languages, the Swiss can act as one people. He says that “enough learned habits, preferences, symbols, memories, patterns of landholding and social stratification, events in history, and personal associations’ permits a Swiss to “communicate more effectively with other Swiss than with the speakers of his own language who belong to other peoples”. Deutch then gives a functional definition of nationality that necessitates “wide complementarity of social communication” which means the ability to communicate effectively, “and over a wider range of subjects, with members of one large group than with outsiders. This overall result can be achieved by a variety of functionally equivalent arrangements” (1966, quoted from Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 27).

Like Deutch, for Brass too, communication plays a crucial role in nation-formation. It is imperative for elite groups to appropriate some cultural indicators that exist in

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<sup>13</sup> Italics belongs to the original text

a given population. Sufficient conditions for ethnic transformation necessitates “the existence of the means to communicate the selected symbols of identity to other social classes within the ethnic group, the existence of a socially mobilized population to whom the symbols may be communicated, and the absence of intense class cleavage or other difficulties in communication between elites and other social groups and classes” (1991:63). For Brass, nationalist movement is a precondition for achieving ethnic transformation. Since it is a political movement it leads to elite competition and manipulation. Furthermore, nationalist movement requires a good organization, powerful leadership and an effective system.

Unlike Brass and Deutch, Hobsbawm does not pay a particular attention to language. He rather focuses on the invention of traditions. The development of secular “the instituteurs”, “the invention of public ceremonies”, and “mass product of public monuments” are three categories that he elaborates in detail (1983: 264-265). These invented traditions are specific means for providing group cohesion and continuity of the nation. While the first two types can be found in all societies, the second type necessitates some conditions to create order and unity in fragmented societies. National community in this context is very important to provide unity and security (Özkırımlı, 2000: 117). The invention of traditions reached to its peak point between the years 1870 and 1914. For instance these years match with ideological formation and historical background of Republic of Turkey.

In order to preserve the loyalty and cooperation of the subjects, the ruling elite formed certain policies as mass politics. The invention of traditions was a good maneuver of the ruling elite to counter the threat posed by mass democracy. As a result of this processes, “nationalism became a substitute for social cohesion through a national church, a royal family or other cohesive traditions or collective group self-presentations, a new secular religion” (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983: 303). The emergence of nationalism, for Hobsbawm can be traced back the development of modernity, because it emerged in the period of intersection of politics, technology and social transformation. These processes were used as a maneuver, for example, for reunifying the Ottoman Empire by the Union and Progress Party such as policies of westernization and renewal movements,

ideologies of Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism. These are totally affected all Dhimni (*zimmi*, protected, in practice, tributary status) population and subjects of the Empire. Later with the emergence of nation states based on territory legitimized their existence with national language, literacy, secular religion. Nations and nationalism as a dual phenomena:

constructed essentially from above, but which can not be understood unless also analyzed from below, that is in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people, which are not necessarily national and still less nationalist ( 1990:10).

Hobsbawm questions the relationship between ethnicity and modern nationalism. There are three differences in between. First, ethnicity has historically functioned "horizontal dividers as well as vertical ones" and they served to distinguish social strata from whole community before modern nationalism. Mass migration and social mobility have changed the situation made more complicated. Second, "visible' ethnicity tends to be negative, inasmuch as it is much more usually applied to define 'the other' than one's own group." Third, the negative ethnicity is irrelevant to modern nationalism. Therefore ethnic differences have not played rather enormous part in the genesis of modern nationalism (Hobsbawm, 1990: 65-67).

Deutsch does not completely ignore the role of the elites in state-formation but his communicative approach requires the existence of some common elements (especially linguistic) in the population. The messages given by the elite groups can only have effects if they are understood by the population. This requires an ethnic complementarity. Through a communicative efficiency people are "held together 'from within'". This is "a characteristic of each individual, but it can only be exercised within the context of a group" (1966, quoted from Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 27). It makes people different from others. For instance, minorities in Turkey publish daily newspapers, open publishing houses and community houses and foundations in order to keep alive their solidarity and cohesion in the communities that they belong. Mass media helps them to reproduce their ethnic ties and identities among themselves. Jewish publishing house "*Gözlem*", organizes a competition each year for the best story. For Brass, government policies may influence ethnic groups' survival in several ways: as a separate identity, their self-definition or their ultimate goals. Government policies tend:

to prevent the maintenance of separate identities or to limit the influence of ethnic groups range from the most extreme forms of repression, including genocide and deportation, to policies designed to undercut potential bases or ethnic group mobilization through assimilation in the schools or through the integration or cooperation of ethnic group leaders into the structures of power and wealth in the society (Brass, 1991: 50)

On the other hand, governments may appropriate moderate and pluralist policies that satisfy the ethnic demands. This understanding may create a construction of new political structures as federalism or acceptance of some of the rights as right to educate in native language (50).

The moderate approach to ethnic groups adopted by the Ottoman Empire changed with the foundation of the Turkish Republic. The sultan delegated its authorities to administrative units, i.e. local rulers, carried out the services in the name of the Sultan. Greek and Armenian populations, dhimmi populations, non-Muslims, protected their religious status. Specifically Armenians and Greeks as ethno religious groups had their own cultural and legal status. Common traits such as language, religion, education, inter-marriages kept their group identity intact for centuries. The sharp delineation of their community from Muslim groups facilitated the preservation of their ethnic identities (Göçek, 2002: 18-19). As the Turkish Republic sought to create a homogenous society, ethnic pluralism of the Ottoman empire was a setback to reach this goal. The main policy to solve this problem was population exchange with neighboring countries. Greek-Turkish, Greek-Bulgarian exchanges realized at the end of the First World War can be given as examples (51).

The instrumentalist approach has not been immune to critics. The approach of Brass to nationalism brings forward domestic politics to the expense of international politics. It undermines the effect of international organizations and Western countries over nationalist and ethnic movements emerged in developing world. On the other hand, Deutsch explains the role of communication mechanism in nation building process by excluding beliefs, interpretations and interest within which mass media functions (Smith, 1983: 99). Another critic from Smith is related

to mass communication. Communication systems have never expressed only one single ideology. This modernization theory is one-dimensional. The people who live in a community have never perceived the messages sent from mass media in the same context (101).

In general, the instrumentalist / political approach has been criticized from several points. First it fails to account for the persistence of pre-modern ethnic ties. Second it cannot explain why many people are ready to die for their nations. Third, it puts so much emphasis on one set of factors at the expense of others. Fourth, state building process should not be equated with nation building. Fifth, it exaggerates the role played by elites in shaping national identities (Özkırımlı, 2000, 122-126).

### **2.2.2. Socio-cultural Approach**

Other important modernists emphasized the importance of socio-cultural transformations in societies. Some of the prominent thinkers are Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson.

Gellner and Anderson are both accepted as the most prominent figure in socio-cultural approach. They have identified conditions that produce nationalism.

Anderson established a cultural link between those who evaluated nationalism as an ideology and those who considered nationalism as product of modern industrial society. Nationalism and nationality, for Anderson, are forms of cultural existence that are evolved and changed throughout the time. Anderson does not agree that sentimental legitimacy provided by nationalism is merely an ideological product. Nation is an imagined political community. The process of industrialization facilitates the emergence of an imagined community in the minds the people.

The nation is an imagined community because no member of the community can recognize all members of the society. For Chatterjee, Anderson still conceptualizes a common sentimental link with other members the society. That is, the member of the society, s/he. imagines a society where s/he belongs and

s/he can attribute some characteristics (Chatterjee, 2001: 10337-10338). This imagination of nation is realized with the help of modern technologies and institutions. For instance, printing technology give rise to printing industry and newspapers, novels, national literature became widespread nation-wide. With the help of these new institutions and technologies the imagination of society becomes a social reality (10337-10338).

Gellner determines literacy and a certain level of technological competence as the minimum; sufficient population size, presence of education system and sufficient numbers of specialists as the maximum requirements for the emergence of nationalist movements in industrialized societies. Nationalism can ensure political loyalty when everyone is literate and use a particular medium of expression (understand each other though they may speak different languages within the nation). With the universalization of education, people living in the same territory were not bound by the occupation of their fathers and they were able to move vertically. Social statuses were not any longer fixed.

(1) Every man a clerk (Universal literacy recognized as a valid form). (2) Clerks are not horizontally mobile, they cannot normally move from one language –area to another; jobs are generally specific to clerks who are produced by some one particular educational machine, using some one particular medium of expression. (Gellner, 1964: 158).

Gellner's understanding of nationalism is inspired from sociological analysis of Weber and Durkheim. While Durkheim believed that "in religious worship society adores its own camouflaged image", Gellner emphasizes, "in nationalist age, societies worship themselves brazenly and openly, spurning the camouflage" (Gellner, 1964: 48). Instead of using religious forms, society with high culture "celebrates itself in song and dance, which it borrows from a folk culture which it fondly believes itself to be perpetuating, defending, and reaffirming" (49). Since a shared high culture is very important, this means whose members have been trained by a common education system to make understandable every "context - free messages in a shared idiom". It becomes a shared commodity in society with equal access. Furthermore it is a precondition of moral citizenship and it makes man nationalist. The components of nationalism are religion, traditional institutions, economic development, and universal truth versus local truths (Gellner, 1996: viii)

He differentiates between traditional and modern societies. On the basis of culture and power, he defines three stages in human history: the hunter-gatherer, the agro-literate and the industrial. In the first two stages there was no room for nationalism. In the hunter-gatherer stage, nationalism is not possible as there is no central political power. In the second era of agro cultural societies there was a complex system of stable status. Power distribution is determined on the basis of culture and status. Ruling classes that were formed by warriors, priests, clerics, administrators used culture merely to differentiate themselves from the large majority of direct agricultural producers. Rulers did not concern to spread literacy and a common culture to subordinate classes. In the agro-literate society, culture had the function to separate castes from each other. Therefore, power and culture did not usually match in this era. Rather, there was a conflict between high and low culture represented respectively by the ruling and subordinate classes. As cultural homogenization has not emerged in agro-literate societies it is not possible to mention about the existence of nations. As opposed to agro-literate societies, the role of culture in industrial societies is quite significant. As the society gets more complex, the level of social mobility grows among classes. In industrialized societies there is a need for nation and nationalism because the relation between social structure and culture has changed. Social roles became open for everyone and thus transition between classes became possible. This fluid structure of the society is based on distribution of labor in the production process. The state is the political organization which sustains this complex structure. The priority given to the culture by the state leads to the rise of standardization in society. Dynamism in the social structure, i.e. 'perpetual growth' supported by continuous transformation in the social structure requires developed technical skills and "meritocratical" structure (Özkırımlı, 2000: 130-131).

Similarly, Anderson makes a threefold categorization. He defines three fundamental cultural conceptions having roots in antiquity which are very important in imagining the society. First of all, a particular script enables people to reach the same common truth. Secondly, the presence of a political center such as a monarch around which the society is organized. Thirdly, the conception of "temporality in which cosmology and history were indispensable". These three

were combined in Western Europe with the impact of economic change and discoveries, and rapid communication (Anderson 1991: 36).

The decline in the reign of dynasties and religious communities till 16th century contributed to this transformation. Development of print capitalism made it possible for the people to think about themselves in relation to others. The development of printing technology as a commodity and the emergence of capitalist enterprises for publishing initiated a market in Europe. According to Anderson, three extraneous factors have further strengthened the idea of nation-state and rise of national consciousness in Europe. First one was the transformation in alphabet from Latin to vernacular language gave way to “unified fields of exchange and communications below Latin”. The capitalist system of production sought to reach to all sections of population. Latin alphabet which was known only by upper sections of the society was not appropriate for his purpose. Therefore, in print technology existing vernacular language was used instead of Latin. Second one is “the impact of reformation”. Before the era of print capitalism in Western Europe Rome, i.e., the Church had a very strong organization. It has significantly lost its power as a result of the Reform movement and of printing books on vernacular language. It could not any longer monopolize its hegemony on information. Third one is administrative centralization, which is “geographically uneven, spread of particular vernaculars as instruments of ‘administrative centralization’”.

The rise of national sentiments, for Gellner, reduces the salience of ethnicity in modern age. In the process of industrialization nationalist sentiments raises to the expense of ethnic sentiments. Still, ethnicity can ease the formation of nationality as it draws the boundaries of conversation, shared past etc.

when the ‘ethnic’ group defined by these overlapping cultural boundaries is not merely acutely conscious of its own existence, but also imbued with the conviction that the ethnic boundary ought also to be a political one. The requirements is that the boundaries of ethnicity should also be the boundaries of the political unit, and , above all, that the rulers within that unit should be of the same ethnicity as the ruled (Gellner, 1996: 35).

Moreover, modern society provides free and universal education for all its citizens so that they have common qualifications such as literacy, basic work habits and so

on. The effect of organism can be followed from this. He believes that if basic education is universal then almost everyone can be trained for other jobs without encountering any difficulty. By this way extensive and expensive infrastructure problems can be easily tackled. Such an extensive system can only be given through a central and strong state. Industrialization facilitates the emergence of such a state. So nationalism can be considered as a product of industrial society (Gellner, 1983: 27-28). In sum modern society requires free movement of labor and goods throughout the national economy, a general and universal schooling in a standard national language and rhetoric of equal access to social mobility (Chatterjee, 2001: 10337).

In modern age, nationalism becomes a political principle. It is a sociological necessity for a modern world and it illuminates how and why we are now living in modernity (1983: 6). For the modernist, the world was created at the end of the nineteenth century and 'that nothing which happened before makes the slightest difference to the issues we face' (Gellner, 1999: 32). According to Gellner nations can only exist in the age of nationalism when necessary social conditions were fulfilled. For instance homogenous entities, centrally provided cultures, educated population... So nationalism:

. . . is, essentially, the general imposition of a high culture on society, where previously low cultures had taken up the lives of the majority, and in some cases of the totality, of the population ... It is the establishment of an anonymous, impersonal society, with mutually substitutable atomized individual, held together above all by a shared culture of this kind (1983:57).

Gellner regards Kemalism as a rare genuine nationalism in Muslim world where fundamentalism is predominant. For Gellner while Turkish nationalism has managed to create a common national identity while it excluded religion (Gellner 1996: chap. 7).

Anderson attributes more importance to "print capitalism" for the emergence of national consciousness and national languages. Print capitalism led to standardization in language. This common language helped members of the society to have common image of the past. For instance, to "heighten Turkish – Turkey's national consciousness at the expense of any wider Islamic identification, Atatürk imposed compulsory Romanization" (Anderson 1991: 36-

45). Atatürk has also tried to create a common past to prove that the roots of Turkish nationalism are very strong. For this purpose, the names of Hittite Bank and Summer Bank were given to two state banks. Although this act was symbolic, the purpose was certainly to prove the links of Turks with Hittites and Summers who were once living in the geography now inhabited by Turks (Anderson, 1991: 12).

Anderson's emphasis on cultural representation is criticized by some scholars for being cultural reductionist. It is believed that his argument on the relationship between nationalism and religion does not work for certain cases (Özkırmılı, 2000:153). On the other hand, Gellner is criticized for being functionalist as his model of nationalism merely fits to industrial society. Some of his critics assert that he misjudges the relationship between industrialization and nationalism. Another critic is about the failure of the theory to explain the resurgence of ethnic and nationalist sentiments within advanced industrialized societies. Furthermore, the model cannot explain the passions generated by nationalism. The last critic is about his general and vacuous explanation (Özkırmılı, 2000: 137-143).

### **2.3. New Approaches**

Since 1980s the theoretical debates have entered to a new stage. As modernization theories used meta-narratives to explain the nation building process, they were unsuccessful to tackle problems of analysis and newly emerging ethnic conflicts. In contrast to the explanations of modernist theorists, ethnic problems endured in the technologically advanced Western countries such as Canada and Belgium. Modernists, according to Özkırmılı (2000: 56) "... did offer various explanations of the 'origins' of nations, but they took 'our' nationhood... Not satisfied with such simplistic accounts, a number of recent studies tried to identify the factors that lead to the continual production and reproduction of nationalism as a central discursive formation in the modern world" The interdisciplinary studies, specifically on gender, identity, alternative histories, migration and so on, were all considered the topics of cultural studies. The growth in interdisciplinary studies brought two issues to the forefront of discussion, i.e. euro-centricism (Said, 1978) and gender blindness. Because of the influence of

interdisciplinarity, the focus of studies on nationalism has shifted to the history of subordinated groups and gender, hegemonic discourses (Bhabba, 1990) and suppressed subalterns (Chatterjee, 1986) , division between west and east, importance of the indigenous culture, everyday life and etc. Apart from the classical studies, these studies have contributed to non-western and anti postcolonial nationalism. (Özkırıklı, 2000: 190-194).

Debates on nationalisms in the late twentieth century considered the study of nationalism as rival paradigms. There are three main debates, for Smith, in defining the historiography of nationalism. These are: (1) the organicist versus the voluntarist, ie., primordialist versus instrumentalist, (2) the perennialists versus the modernists; ie., contemporary debates on antiquity or modernity of nations, (3) the social constructivist versus the ethno symbolist approaches (2000: 2-3). For Smith, these debates asked mainly three questions: “the nature and origin of the nation and nationalism, the antiquity or modernity of nations and nationalism, the role of nations and nationalism in historical and especially recent social change” (2).

Ethno-symbolism is evaluated under the category of new approaches as it combines nationalism together with ethnicity. This evaluation sets the ground for the discussion of different approaches to ethnicity that is discussed in the last part of this chapter. Ethno-symbolist approaches emerged as a reaction to modernism and gained popularity in 1980s.

### **2.3.1. Banal Nationalism**

Earlier studies of nationalism have separated the study of ethnicity, ethnic community from national identity and nationalism. Between two world wars, nationalism was seen as a “force’, non logical if not irrational, one which swept away traditional barriers and ushered in a new era of national conflicts and mass terror, a view reinforced by nationalism’s alleged role”. However, ethnic revival in 1960s led to reevaluation of ethnicity and nationalism. Later it became clear that nation building process which is focused on the construction of national institutions

by the elites, preferred integrative and assimilative policies for the ethnic minorities in favor of dominant ethnic majority (Smith, 1992:1).

As discussed in previous section, classical studies of nationalism disregard the importance of daily life for the reproduction of nationalism. They mainly focus on macro level theoretical issues. On the other hand, micro level studies which examine everyday reproduction of nationalism accept the instability and fluidity of identities. It is believed that popular culture together with communication technologies deconstructs the meaning context of daily life. Micheal Billig's "Banal Nationalism" is a good example that further elaborates this point (Özkırıklı, 2000: 196).

Billig's study focuses on the reproduction of the nationalism in the daily life of western countries. Classical studies for him considered nationalism as a phenomenon particular to countries in the periphery or to newly established nation-states which have not yet completed their nation building process. For Billig, "those in established nations – at the center of things - are led to see nationalism as the property of others, not of 'us'" (1997, 5). Therefore he searches the ways in which nationalism is reproduced in developed western countries. "The term *banal nationalism*\* introduced to cover the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced"(6). "Nationalism ... is no longer a major force: globalization is the order of the day. But a reminder is necessary. Nationhood is still being reproduced: it can still call for ultimate sacrifices; and daily, its symbols and assumptions are flagged. His main thesis is that "there is a continual 'flagging', or reminding, of nationhood. ... In so many little ways, the citizenry are daily reminded of their national place in a world of nations"(8). The symbols of nationalism can vary from the coins, bank notes, and stamps to flags, soccer games, anything that can be part of our daily life. These small things function in the background and cause a metamorphose from daily life space to national space. "The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building" (8). National identity is not psychological

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\* The emphasis belongs to Billig.

machinery; instead it is similar to mobile telephone “this piece of psychological equipment lies quite for most of the time. Then, the crisis occurs; the president calls; bell rings; the citizens answer; and the patriotic identity is connected” (7). The Cyprus issue, which is currently under discussion, is good example for his point. Turkish government opts for the unification of two separate states on the island and supports this argument with patriotism. The rejection of this unification will be equivalent to reject patriotism. In contrast for some groups within the Turkish Cypriot government (such as the President) the approval of unification will be against patriotism. The real patriots should reject this unification.

Two more examples can be given to support this argument, bureaucratic buildings belonged to the ministries, the military, and others in Turkey have a national flag in front of them and at the top of the roof are among some examples about the production of nationalism in daily life. The daily newspaper, such as *Hürriyet*, at the top of the front page is written an expression: ‘Turkey belongs to Turks’.

“If nationalism is an ideology of the first person plural, which tells ‘us’ who ‘we’ are, then it is also an ideology of the third person. There can be no ‘us’ without a ‘them’. ... The national community can only be imagined by also imagining communities of foreigners. The ‘foreigner’, in the age of the nation-state, is a specific category, not merely any ‘other’.”(Billig, 1997:78-79). By describing others culturally, stereotypes become a means to differentiate ourselves from the others. Labeling different ethnic and national groups is the most common form of creating stereotypes: “Jews were mercenary, Turks were cruel, Germans are efficient” (80).

Apart from stereotypes that help the formation of our nation identity, Billig questions why we have never forgotten our national identity. “‘We’ are constantly reminded that ‘we’ live in nations: ‘our’ identity is continually being flagged’ (93). Nationhood, for him is ‘near the surface of contemporary life. ... then routinely familiar habits of language will be continually acting as reminders of nationhood.’ Nationalism:

is not confined to the florid language of blood-myths. Banal nationalism operates with prosaic, routine words, which take nations for granted, and which, in so doing, inhabit them. Small words, rather than grand memorable phrases, offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making ‘our’ national identity unforgettable (93).

### 2.3.2. Ethno Symbolism

Unlike modernism, ethno symbolism pays much attention to the existence of “earlier symbols earlier myths, symbols, values and memories in many parts of the world and their continuing significance for large numbers of people” (Smith 1996: 361). Furthermore, its aim is to illuminate “the symbolic legacy of pre-modern ethnic identities for today’s nations. (Smith 1998: 224). Anthony D. Smith and John Armstrong are prominent figures in ethno symbolist thought apart from Connor and Hutchinson.

The term ethno symbolism for Smith is quite helpful to capture “the growth of nations, the rise of ethno nationalism and the conflicts to which they give rise”. It is not a theory; it is “a perspective or an approach”. It is helpful to explain “which populations are likely to give rise to a nationalist movement under certain conditions, and what the content of their nationalism is likely to be – though there is much work to be done”. It may give some clues on the growth of a nation and its nationalism. Moreover this approach emphasizes “the important role of memories, values, myths and symbols”. Nationalism usually pursues these symbols and memories. This approach also gives us the reasons “why nationalism so often has such a widespread popular appeal”. It explains why the people respond to the call of intelligentsia to be part of the vernacular culture. This valuable vernacular culture turns later into “mass culture of nation”. Nationalism includes this ‘vernacular mobilization of masses” (Smith, 1999b: 40-41).

Nation building process tends to ignore the question of ethnic diversity, because it is seen as a threat for the integration in state (Connor, 1994: 29). Modernization approach asserted that ethnic consciousness would lessen in favor of the nation state and all disharmony caused by ethnic identity would be decreased. However global survey indicated that ethnic consciousness has been challenged with this trend. Nation building has turned into a “nation –destroying” process (35, 29). For Guibernau (1996: 61), when the nation and state do not coexist, it creates two outcomes. The first is the assimilation of different nations living in the same territory. It means “the annihilation of the cultures of the national minorities and the integration of these minorities into the main culture allowing for the formation

of a coextensive nation-state". Second one is the armed struggle which is an attempt of some nationalists to challenge the state's monopoly of using violence. For the state regards the use of armed struggle within its territory by separatist ethnic groups is equivalent to the occupation of its land by the other nation-states. Guibernau gives the example of Basque separatist movement ETA (*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* - The Basque Fatherland and Liberty group) in Spain to substantiate his point (61-62).

Anthony D. Smith, most prominent thinker of ethno symbolists, focuses on premodern roots of contemporary nations. He defines nation, nation-state and nationalism by using pre-existing ethnic components.<sup>14</sup> The other important figure of ethno symbolists John Armstrong aims "to explore the emergence of the intense group identification that today we term a 'nation'". "Examination of ethnic relations" over a period is not enough to reach universal laws except some patterns or typologies in the evolution of nations. Comparisons on the basis of time and space can provide generalization over "an extended temporal dimension" that explain the antiquity of nations (1982: 3).

Nationalism is an ideological movement for "the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity and identity of a human population, some of whose members conceive it to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'". Nation, for Smith, means "a human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Smith, 1999c: 11). This definition of nation implies "a particular kind of social and cultural community, a territorial community of shared history and culture" (1999b: 37-38). Furthermore it is important to separate the concept of nation from that of the state. While state is a legal and political concept, nation is a social and cultural concept. For Smith and Hutchinson the

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<sup>14</sup> Gellner answering a question whether nations have navels or do not, he answers from the modernist perspective. For him "the ethnic, the cultural and the national community is rather like the navel."(1999:32) Smith is "anticreationist. He believes that we have this plethora of navels and that they are absolutely essential. He says – and I think this is the crux of the disagreement between us – that modernism only tells us half of the story. But if it tells half the story, that is enough for me."(33) On the other hand, Smith explains difference between his ideas and Gellner's: "as he is a wholehearted 'modernist', Gellner would claim that the nation is not only relatively recent; it is also the product of specifically modern conditions – those of early industrialism or ... It is not that I find this account wrong, but that it tells only half the story. There is another half ..." (Smith 1999b: 37).

concept of the nation, which exposes complex, abstract and multi-dimensional character of national identity, should be differentiated from the concepts of collective identity.

[t]here is little agreement about the role of ethnic, as opposed to political, components of the nation; or about the balance between 'subjective' elements like will and memory, and more 'objective' elements like territory and language; or about the nature and role of ethnicity in national identity (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 4 -5)

Smith differentiates ethnic categories from ethnic communities. Ethnic categories are "populations distinguished by outsiders as possessing the attributes of a common name or emblem, a shared cultural element, and a link with a particular territory". Ethnic communities or *ethnies*, on the other hand, are "human populations distinguished by both members and outsiders". Smith puts forward six main features for them: "an identifying name or emblem, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more differentiating elements of a common culture, a link with an historic territory or 'homeland', a measure of solidarity, at least among the elites"(1999c: 13).

This ethno symbolist approach makes the following propositions. The origin of nations and formation of nations and their future can be traced over long periods of time. In order to capture the meaning of power in modern nations and nationalism, first of all, we should pursue "the origins and formation of nations, as well as their possible future course, over long periods of time (*la longue duree*)" (1999c:10). Second, national past, present and future can be explained with recurrence, continuity and reappropriation. Third, nation has ethnic basis. Ethnic ties and sentiments provide cultural resources for the formation of nation later. It is believed that there is strong relationship between modern nations and pre modern ethnies. Fourth, ethnies have their specific culture, myths and symbols which regards itself as ancestrally related. Fifth, the cultural components of ethnicity are myths of ethnic origin, symbols of territory and community. It is not very difficult to find a founding father who is mystical. Hellen for Greeks, Abraham for Jews, Arminius for Germans and Oguz Khan for Turks are mystical figures. Sixth, ethno-history which is ethnic members' history, memories, common past and etc. Seventh, the routes to nationhood which concerns the convergence of some factors in the process of nation-formation. The last proposition is the longevity of nationalism (Smith 1999c: 10-19, 64) which refers to the power and durability of

the nations. Nationalism is accepted as an ideological movement “for attaining and maintaining identity, unity and autonomy of a social group some of whose members deem it to constitute an actual or potential nation”(1999c: 18). This definition proves that nations are based on “pre-existing ethnic ties and sentiments” (19).

In line with this perspective, Armstrong (1982: 290) explains the “Emergence of National Identity” as an historical phenomenon. An extended temporal perspective is very significant for the “phenomena of ethnic identification” indicating both modern nationalism as a part of ethnic consciousness and the persistence of ethnic relations. Because of the persistence, Armstrong asserts that his approach is different from other ethnic relations’ studies (1982:4)

Since the late eighteenth century, nationalism has in many respects become the dominant political doctrine. The right of individuals to choose the state to which they belong, that is, to establish territorial political structures corresponding to their consciousness of group identity has constituted a principal theme of political analysis. My examination however stops at the threshold of nationalism, before the period when consciousness of ethnic identity became a predominant force for constituting independent political structures. A major objective of my work is, indeed, to provide a perspective in which such historically novel of human association in which persistent group identity did not ordinarily constitute the overriding legitimization of polity formation (4).

He focuses on boundaries which is proposed by Barth’s ethnic boundaries model “a social interaction model of ethnic identity that does not posit a fixed ‘character or ‘essence’ for the group, but examines the perceptions of its members which distinguish them from other groups.” This boundary mechanism is useful to define ethnicity on the basis of cultural and biological nature of the group free from territorial definition. It makes convenient other ethnic phenomena “such as the use of languages as alterative codes rather than ethnic identifying symbols or prescriptive communication media. .... that groups tend to define themselves not by reference to their own characteristics but by exclusion, that is, by comparison to ‘strangers’” (1982:4-5). This process of differentiation together with durability and persistence give priority to symbolic boundary mechanism as myths, symbols, and communication and so on.

Smith (2000:3) also pays special attention to myths and memories. He opposes to modernist paradigm's constructionist<sup>15</sup> variant as an ethno symbolist:

By the term nation, I understand a named human population occupying a historic territory or homeland and sharing common myths and memories; a mass, public culture; a single economy; and common rights and duties for all members. By the term nationalism, I understand an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'

Nationalism as a doctrine has the following main characteristics:

1. The world divided into nations, each with its peculiar character and destiny;
2. The nation is the sole source of political power;
3. Loyalty to the nation overrides all other loyalties;
4. Real freedom for individuals can only be realized in and through the nation;
5. Global peace and security can only be based on free nations (1999c: 189).

Myths of origin in shaping Turkish national identity have played an important role in late 19<sup>th</sup> century. These myths were genealogical and ideological in character that rooted their origins from central Asia. The Ottoman writers traced themselves to 'the tribe of Khayi Khan, a branch of Oguz Turks, who had been forced by the Mongols to migrate westwards to the domains of the Seljuk Turks, at time of Ertuğrul' (Smith 1999c: 76-77). Pan Turkism of Young Turks later served to raise and restore 'the credibility of the Turkish community.' The foundation of Turkish Republic indicated success of Anatolian Turkism. "Atatürk turned his back on foreign adventures and the Central Asian homeland, yet his followers remained profoundly influenced by their pan-Turkist background, including the Hittite myth and the belief in a 'Turkification' of Anatolia and its peasant stock"(77).

'Atatürk's Sun Language of Turkish origins' can be considered as a moderately good rhetoric to create a national character. Nationalism is a great sentiment, on the other hand is 'a definite ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, identity and unity of a social group, some of whose members deem it to be an actual or potential 'nation''. Nationalism is 'a doctrine and movement on behalf of the chosen nation' (Smith, 1999c; 189).

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<sup>15</sup> Tilley (3 July 1997: 497), explains ethnicity and ethnic movements with terms of primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism. Constructivist approach is " vacillate between a focus on the influence of intellectual ethnic discourse and an understanding of ethnic identity as developing out of wider bodies of social experience".

Ethno symbolists are criticized as being conceptually confused and underestimating the differences between modern nations and earlier ethnic communities. It is believed that it is not possible to speak of nations and nationalisms in pre-modern eras. They “underestimate the fluidity and malleability of ethnic identities” and the relationship between modern and national identities and the cultural material of the past in ethno symbolists are at best problematic. Furthermore it is asserted that their analysis of the process of ethnic consciousness formation is misleading (Özkırımlı, 2000: 183-189).

#### **2.4. Ethnic Identity and Minorities**

While the studies on ethnicity have developed under the shadow of nationalist studies, the growing interest to ethnicity demonstrates the inadequateness of nationalist literature to give an account for ethnic revival. After 1980s the relationship between ethnicity\* and nationalism has been emphasized more than ever.

In this section, the concepts such as exclusion, otherness and minorities are briefly discussed in Turkish context after a general review of the approaches on ethnicity. Then, the terms differentiating between the studies on nationalism and ethnicity are explained and the concept ethnicity is clarified with reference to different approaches on ethnicity.

Kymlicka (1995) who defends liberal multiculturalism proposes the integration of ethnic minorities with the national culture in order to overcome the ethnic minority problem. In multi-ethnic structures, the reluctance of minorities to share national language and culture can lead to separatism. Existing common values cannot be adequate to integrate ethnic minorities. The only solution to create a consensus between different ethnic groups is to create a strong sentiment of sameness. This can be ensured through providing equality in society, giving rights to ethnic groups to determine their cultural and linguistic policies and recognizing freedom in the commerce of property (quoted from Parekh, 2002: 132, 134).

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\* The concepts of ethnic identity and ethnicity are used interchangeably.

The roots of contemporary debates on ethnic identity or ethnicity go back to earlier stages of nation formation especially from multi-ethnic empires. As mentioned previously, earlier in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman and the Habsburg empires were among the major political forces in Europe. The dissolution of these political forms gave rise to the emergence of the nation states. Ethnic groups, which were not considered as the constitutive group of the nation-state, created a problem. These ethnic groups were too small, territorially dispersed or politically immature to conduct a nation state. Ethnic groups in Balkans or in France were considered not suitable for independence. Whatever the specific cultural content defining the nation state, the territorial sovereignty and undivided national unity always produce and reproduce national minorities in the state (Chatterjee, 2001: 10338) Later together with the anti colonial movements seeking for independence in 1960s, minority problems and ethnic issues became a crucial issue in the social sciences. The relationship between culture and nationalism has become prominent in ethnic politics. Although nationalism in the classical sense imagines community in the form of “unbound serialities” such as nations, citizens, workers, intellectuals... it is thought that this form of imagining is quite liberating. However ethnic politics is produced

[b]y the bound serialities of governmental classification. ... They operate by integers – one can be counted only as one or zero, for example, Black or non-Black, Muslim or non-Muslim, ... all partial or mixed affiliations must be ruled out. ... Others argue that the supposed distinction between classical nationalism and ethnic politics is once again a version of the liberal distinction between good and bad nationalism and that they represent not so much a difference of type as the inadequacy of the classical nation-form to properly represent within itself the full range of aspirations for community in modern political life (2001: 10339)

As it is known, recent developments in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union gave rise to increase in local ethnic conflicts and showed the dark side of nationalism after the Second World War. For Smith and Hutchinson (1994: 11), these historical events may not be direct cause of these violent ethnic conflicts, but “ethnically defined nations have certainly become their heirs, and the conflict in Bosnia and the anxious relations with significant Russian and other minorities in several of the former Soviet republics are likely to add to international destabilization.” This ultranationalist movement in Europe led to the questioning of

[c]ivic-political or ethnic - linguistic character of nationalism. Later, in 1960s ethnicity was taken as a separate and independent concept in the social sciences thanks to new ethnic movements, anti-colonial struggles, criticism of structural functionalism. Cohen calls this period particularly, “the unmasking of the rhetoric of assimilation’.

Then the notion of ethnicity pushed to a more marginal status the concepts of assimilation and acculturation, without ... replacing them altogether (Vermeulen & Coverts, 1994: 2).

After 1980s discussions on ethnic secession and irredentism, sovereignty, identity, and self-determination became widespread. An increase in intensity of ethnic conflicts and dangers for regional and global peace together with continuing nationalism brought about large number of unsatisfied *ethnies* (ethnic communities). Moreover new information technologies providing mass communication and economic inequalities among the nation states proliferate the demands for mass nationalism (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 12; Hobsbawm, 1990: chapter 6). Thanks to these developments, an increase in the issues of ethnicity, gender, race relationship give rise to new approaches, such as postmodernist discussions on state, post colonialism and immigration and so on.

#### **2.4.1. Approaches on Ethnicity**

Studies on ethnic identity have developed in parallel to studies on nationalism, from assimilation theory, primordialism, circumstantialism, and constructionism to various reinterpretations of the new ethnicity or symbolic ethnicity and diaspora ethnicities. Almost the same approaches to nationalism that are discussed in earlier sections of this chapter are also valid for discussion on ethnicity. In order to refrain from repetition, these approaches are discussed to explain the evaluation of studies on ethnic identity and minorities.

Assimilation theory was prominent in North American sociology from the 1920s to 1960s. While the theory evaluates ethnicity from a cultural perspective and it explains race from a biological perspective. Assimilation theory is usually focused on immigrant ethnic groups pretending that their cultural traits would erode through assimilationist policies. This theory having a unidimensional perspective is very deterministic and it does not explain why some ethnic groups are more susceptible to assimilation than others. Furthermore, it does not explain the assimilation process of non-immigrant groups such as blacks (Anderson, 2001:209-210).

For primordialists, ethnicity is relatively “fixed and unchanging” and a “timeless aspect of social life”. Furthermore, ethnic identities are “irreducible and basic” (Anderson, 2001: 213). They focus on ethnicity as a primal essence and believe that the “power of ethnicity had derailed the assimilation train”. The other two approaches, namely, circumstantialism or instrumentalism, claimed the opposite of primordialism. Accordingly, ethnicity’s malleability and flexibility were so easily affected by changes in circumstances and could be used for so many purposes. Ethnic groups are taken as “subgroup of a larger society” and ethnic identity is “a means of obtaining jobs and resources” (Allen & Eade, 2000: 492). While primordialist claims that ethnicity survives because it is fixed, basic to human life, ‘given’ by the fact of birth, the instrumentalist advocates that it survives because it is fluid, superficial, and changeable, a product of the circumstances of the moment (Anderson, 2001: 211).

Primordialists, i.e., essentialists believe that ethnic identities came into being from determined, and historically and culturally embedded primal traits (Allen & Eade, 2000: 494). Primordialism imbues three different ideas: first is apriority (all identities or attachments are given and natural). Second is ineffability (all attachments are “overpowering and coercive”). Third is affectivity (all identities are “emotional and sentimental bonding” (Anderson, 2001: 211). On the other hand, instrumentalists take ethnicity as “fluid and contingent” and it is “either a residual remnant of a pre modern era or as the outcome of very modern economic and political processes (213). Ethnicity, for Cohen (1969), has a practical function in political organizations that “invoke cultural values for essentially material reasons” (quoted from Allen & Eade, 2000: 492). For Anderson, instrumentalism is very useful to answer these questions; “why is an ethnic identity thick in one context and thin in another? What drives the change?” It is helpful to define some specific factors subject to change (Anderson, 2001: 213).

Ethnicity as a relational boundary approach emerged as a reaction to instrumentalist approach. A particular attention is given to identifying characteristics of an ethnic group by describing their social situation. That is, they try to determine the boundaries of an ethnic group through observing the way in which they maintain their social relations. Ethnicity, if we refer to Barth’s (1969) study, is accepted “as an

aspect of social relations, linked to the maintenance of boundaries” (quoted from Allen & Eade, 2000: 493). It is believed that ethnic boundaries are constructed and maintained. Ethnicity is a main aspect of relationship in societies.

Some sociologists have focused on the issue of ethnic identity construction. They examined the way in which ethnic and racial identities are constructed and reconstructed. It is conceived that ethnicity is related to social boundaries as an aspect of a relationship. This perspective considers ethnic groups more active in making and remaking their identities. “It also assumes that ethnic groups are actively involved in the construction and reconstruction of identities, negotiating boundaries, asserting meanings, interpreting their own pasts, resisting the impositions of the present, and claiming the future” (Anderson, 2001: 214). Moreover this perspective distinguishes between thick and thin ethnicity. Whereas the former ethnicity refers to the organization of social life, individual and collective action, the latter refers to less comprehensive and less social life and action. These concepts are very important for constructivists because it explains what kinds of factors are necessary for change. Construction of racial and ethnic identities is situational and subject to change. Identities are not given but created (213-214).

Revisionism, i.e., reinterpretation of the new ethnicity, considers ethnicity neither pre-given nor created. For Glazer and Moynihan (1970), ethnic groups are new social forms that recreated by new experiences (Anderson, 2001: 214). Ethnic identity may be reinvented or reinterpreted.<sup>16</sup>

Diaspora ethnicities refer to ethnic groups which are settled outside of their motherland but which keep their bonds alive by recreating and imagining it. According to Anderson (2001: 216) the roots of minorities in diaspora goes back to “colonialist; immigrants and refugees; migrant labor”. On the other hand ‘mobilized’, ‘proletarian’; as well as ‘forced’ diasporas “may have been exiled, redistributed, enslaved, or indentured”.

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<sup>16</sup> There are four basic tenants for revisionism in Canadian sociology: primordialist, epiphenomenal, situational, subjectivist. Epiphenomenal approach is neo Marxist and deals with analysis of capitalist socio economic system by relating ethnicity and race to class division. Subjectivist approach is socio psychological and revised an assimilationist perspective with the view of social incorporation. It is defined as a “process through which a social unit is included in a larger social unit as an integral part of it (Anderson, 2001: 215).

As a reaction to modernist perspective, postmodern studies relate the revival of ethnicity to “the modernization of complex industrialized capitalist societies”. While this process has contributed to “the great machine of mass culture” it has not blocked-up the revival of ethnicity and a need for collective identity. Ethnicity is invigorated as a new source of identity because it gives a response to a collective end that assumes a particular “importance in complex societies ... As other criteria of group memberships ... weaken or recede, ethnic solidarity also responds to a need for identity of an eminently symbolic nature” (Melucci, 1998: 89-92 quoted from Anderson, 2001: 217)

The political culture of modernity has promised to free individuals from their previous masters such as religion or kinship gave birth, instead to homogenize tendencies in society. Ironically, in the recent studies on ethno nationalism by emphasizing the maintenance of nation state goes back to the traditional type of nationalism by re-emphasizing the traditional nation state on the “false pretext of ethnic homogeneity” (Anderson,2001: 218). The best example for a false pretext of ethnic homogeneity is Yugoslavia. This nation-state was formed on the claim of homogeneity but it has dissolved when the integrative elements were dissolved.

#### **2.4.2. Ethnicity**

The ways in which ethnic identity differs from other identities became the subject of many studies. The approach of Cohen (1974) who considered ethnic groups as informal interest groups sharing some patterns of normative behavior led him to view the stockbrokers of innercity London as an ethnic group. Eriksen along with Anderson thinks the perception of ethnic community about having a shared culture is imagined. (Eriksen, 1993: 35) Although ideological perspective together with history can be taken as a differentiating fact of ethnicity (Wallerstein 1991:78, Wolf 1988), Barth takes ethnicity as “as a form of social organization characterized by ascription and self-ascription led some to consider almost any notion of social identity - of opposition between an ‘us’ and a ‘them’ – as ethnic”.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Roosens criticizes Barth from this point. “Roosens sees the boundary concept as the central element in Barth’s notion of ethnicity and argues that, the heart of the matter: boundaries may create identities, but not

On the other hand, the relationship between ethnicity and culture can be viewed as threefold: “ethnicity refers to the consciousness of (ethnic) culture, to the use of culture, and at the same time is part of culture.” (Vermeulen & Covers, 1994: 3). By ethnic group is meant “a past oriented form of identity” that maintains its boundaries on the basis of the presumed cultural<sup>18</sup> heritage of a group (De Vos & Romanucci-Ross, 1995: 356). An ethnic group (De Vos, 1995: 18) is “a self-perceived inclusion of those who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by others with whom they are in contact”. Religious beliefs, language, legends, a sense of historical continuity or place of origin may be common denominators of an ethnic group.

Meanwhile ethnicity has been taken as study of ideology and cognitive systems. It is related to culture and meta-culture which means a reflection on what “our” and “their” culture is about. Moreover ethnicity refers to the “subjective, symbolic or emblematic us by ‘a group of people (...) of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups’” (De Vos 1975 quoted from Vermeulen & Covers, 1994: 4).

Barth, as a prominent thinker, defined ‘ethnicity or ethnic identity as an aspect of social organization. Culture, rethinking culture for him does not provide a base for rethinking ethnicity (Barth, 1994: 13). Similar to Barth, Cohen and Nash refused the role of culture over ethnicity. On the other hand, Eriksen put much emphasis on culture in shaping ethnicity. For him, “several of the anthropological perspectives on ethnicity presented so far ignore the possible ways in which cultural peculiarities may give shape to ethnicity” (Eriksen 1993: 92).

The definition of ethnicity given by Barth in 1969 is commonly accepted as a turning point in anthropological perspective on ethnicity. Barth defined ethnicity in three ways: “ (1) ethnicity is a form of social organization; this implies that (2) the

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necessarily ethnic identities”. It “should be supplemented by the kinship metaphor, adding a genealogical dimension” (Vermeulen & Covers, 1994: 3).

<sup>18</sup> To define ‘culture’ as a concept is very complicated. For Geertz (1973:4-5) it is difficult to give a standard concept of culture. He notes that “Clyde Kluckhohn in *Mirror for Man*” devoted twenty-seven pages to define ‘culture’. The concept of culture for him is essentially semiotic in the web of significance. The best way to search for the meaning of those webs of significance is by interpretation.

critical focus for investigation becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group rather than the cultural stuff that it encloses, the critical feature of ethnic group is (3) the characteristic of self-ascription and ascription by others.”(Vermeulen & Coenen, 1994: 1). Later, Cohen and Roosen inspired from Barth’s work and paid attention to two issues: While Cohen focused on the study of collective and individual consciousness, Roosen examined in detail Barth’s boundary metaphor supplemented by the kinship metaphor (2).

According to Roosen (1994:82-83), Barth’s model which defines ethnic groups as a “social- not a culture- vessel” may not be sufficient to explain immigrant ethnic groups or ethnic identities in the diaspora. The social act of intentional self-ascription is important for group formation in Barth’s model. Ethnic identity, for Roosen, can be defined as “a sense of belonging and continuity –in- being ... resulting from an act of self-ascription, and /or ascription by others” (84). In nation states and societies it may seem that ethnic groups have lost their local identity roots, but events since the 1990s have proved that ethnic groups have kept their social and cultural boundaries within the national borders in which they live.

### **2.4.3. Ethnicity and Culture**

Culture in global context is continuous. It is not separated into efficient integrated wholes. Culture is flux, contradictory and incoherent. These features arise from different cultures in many ways, because accumulating our experiences and interpreting the world reproduce culture. This procedure is directly related to our sense of identity. Human beings cannot develop their own identity. It emerges with an action in the world and an interaction with others. Experiences and culture are very important in modeling ethnic processes. In this process, the relative discontinuities and flux conditions provide a basis for ethnic identity. Steps of modeling ethnic processes, for Barth (1994: 14-15), first, are to observe “the variation of culture in the whole, plural population”, second, to identify “the processes that generate, and make salient, major cultural discontinuities within it”. The debate in ethnic studies whether ethnic identity is related to culture or to other variables such as social organizations, raised the interest in the

relationship between culture and ethnicity. In quite a number of studies, ethnicity is used together with the concept of culture. Barth as the inventor of the concept of relational boundaries, despised the importance of culture in his work dated 1969 but emphasized its value in his latest studies.

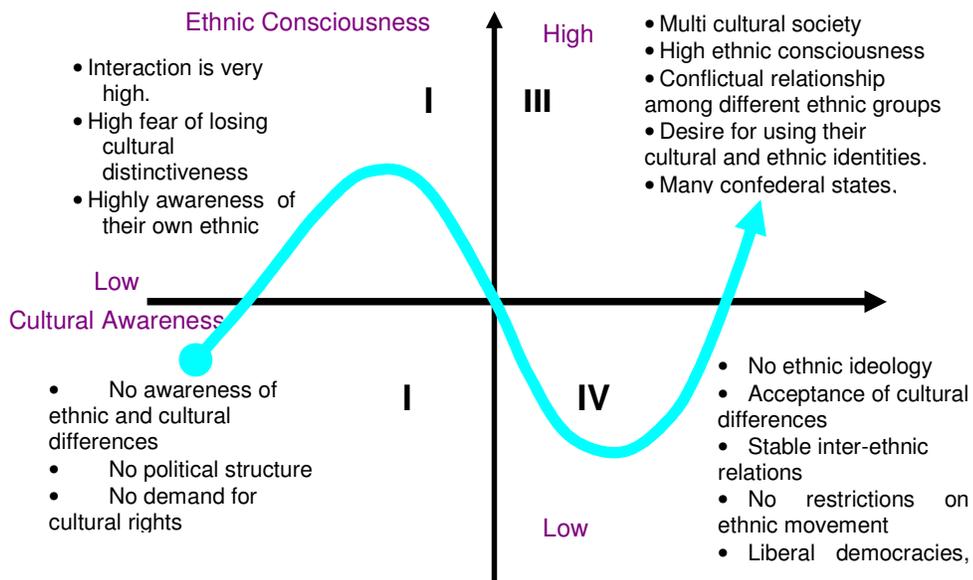
Barth implies a postmodern view of culture.

Such a view abandons the notion that cultures are clearly bounded, separated and homogenous entities. It devotes attention to internal disagreement and dispute, and sees culture not so much in terms of 'sharedness' but in terms of 'the organization of diversity'. It thus problematizes the relation between the collective and the individual. This view also requires a rethinking of the notion of 'society' and of the notion of ethnic identity itself (Vermeulen & Covers, 1994: 5).

The problems that scholars experience in explaining the concept of ethnicity are also valid to explain the concept of culture. For instance Cohen asks the following question: "How can we expect people to agree on what that culture is". Since "the study of boundaries implies a study of consciousness, which in its turn requires attention to experience and the individual" On the other hand people's perception on imagining their ethnic community is quite different from each other. Therefore, "the ethnic group is an aggregate of selves, each of whom produces ethnicity for itself". For Verdery, "the relevance of anthropology of the person, which would have pay attention to the historical genesis of the notions of 'person' and 'identity'" (Vermeulen & Covers, 1994:5-6). It is very difficult to undermine the "interrelation between ethnicity, culture, nationalism and the state ... construction of national identities, the role of creating and sustaining subnational ethnic identities, effects of globalization". Verdery believes that although ethnic identities are also constructed in the sense of made, not naturally given, national identities are often constructed according to situational approach. The expectation from the construction of historical and cultural myths is continuity and homogeneity in society (Verdery, 1994: 35-55). On the other hand, cultural homogenization policies may create cultural division of labor. It may create inequality. Government policies may promote cultural differences and strong ethnic differences.

The concept of ethnicity devolves around two variables, namely, ethnic consciousness and cultural awareness. When a culture entails consciousness of difference, it is possible to mention about cultural awareness (Vermeulen & Cover,

1994: 4). On the other hand, ethnic consciousness is a state of mind of a particular group of individuals about their common characteristics. As indicated in *Figure 2*, when ethnic consciousness is low and cultural awareness is high (IV), the cultural differences and inter ethnic relationships are quite stable. Since people accept differences as pre-given, there is no need for them to struggle for recognition by others. On the other hand, when the interaction between ethnic consciousness is high and culture is low (I), conflicts can be expected since people are full of fear to lose their cultural characteristics which distinguish them from the majority. This process is an awakening period for them to demand and to repair their culture, i.e. their cultural rights. The graph proposes some assumptions about social consciousness in following the transformations between ethnic consciousness and cultural awareness. In the starting point of the arrow (I) there is no social structure. The second phase largely explains Third World Countries. In point three, (III), where either variables are high, federal or confederal states with high tolerance are observed (such as Switzerland). The fourth category, (IV), in which ethnic consciousness is low and cultural awareness is high, is mostly observed in liberal societies. The direction of the arrow shows the link between the development of social consciousness and social structure.



*Figure 2: An Interaction Between Ethnic Consciousness and Cultural Awareness*

Barth determines three main stages in the relationship between ethnicity and culture. Micro level is the process of effecting experience and the formation of identities. It is related to persons and interpersonal interaction. This level is important for the formation of “the person's consciousness of ethnic identity” (Barth, 1994: 21). Literary works of non-Muslim minorities have provided information for their self-definition and self-awareness in micro level. Second, median level is the processes that create collectivities and mobilize groups for diverse purposes by diverse means. For Barth, it is the field of entrepreneurship, leadership and rhetoric. By establishing stereotypes and creating collectivities, it will provide the requirements of group reproduction, leadership and ideology<sup>19</sup> (21). The third one is the macro level of state policies. Here, the state is considered as an actor in policy-making area that can act as “a third player in the process of boundary construction” among different groups. Policy making on “identity management, ethnic community formation, and global pressures” create a complicated area for politics and cultural processes (20).

For Kellas (1998: 44) national identity forms the basis of nationalism, and exclusions and discrimination operate against people whose national identity is unacceptable to the state or to other nations. In macro level (Barth, 1994: 22), bureaucratic tools of the state, in the Weberian sense, by using force and compulsion help to conduct the regimes. Imposed ideologies such as homogeneous national identity try to convert some of the identities arisen from ethnicity. Moreover, global discourses, transnational (NGOs) and international organizations are very important in this level by articulating close interests on the median level. Ethnic groups, the states or nations, the major religious communities, the global international arena and discourse are related to macro level. The role of the actors in this level affects the context of each other, specifically the regimes and the population they want to control. By doing

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<sup>19</sup> The median level provides information on the closer analysis of processes of collective decision-making. Furthermore it indicates the policies affecting the shared interests of people and popular will. Barth believes that the developments in Bosnia are a thought-provoking case. There are plenty of explanations on discrimination and genocide. For him culture is flux and volatile “in response to the shocks of humiliations of violence.” (1994: 25). When the slow deterioration of the relationships among different cultures reaches a point of no return, it may turn into sudden ethnic cleansing. For him, Bosnian conflict may be more related to entrepreneurial relationships by creating rhetoric on a suffered public. Main point is here that instead of analyzing from partisan position to chosen principles, the effort should be put on to discover “the complex truths of ethnic coexistence and the roots of to discover the complex truths of ethnic, coexistence and the riots of violence.”(25)

this, regimes need to secure their position together with several modes of legitimization. For instance, Turkey's position against Kurdish ethnic movement was under the impact of the process of the European Union in 1990s. This is quite complex and conflicting position. Global resurgence of ethnicity is mostly based on impressions generated by mass media reporting activism and conflict. This makes the events more visible, especially after the fall of the former repressive regimes. For Barth (1994: 27)

Thus the salience of ethnicity<sup>20</sup>, the acts which it entails, the symbols and diacritics by which it is affirmed, the imagined community it asserts, and the power and information structure of the context, all intermesh and affect each other in complex ways that are poorly retrieved by a concept of 'resurgence'.

The efforts behind this are to renegotiate ethnic groups' position on the basis of self-determination or at least participation.

## **2.5. Minorities**

The division of society between 'us' and 'they' usually creates an extensive problem. Those who belong to us are usually accepted as majority; on the other hand, those who do not parts of us are usually accepted as minority. It is believed that the tyranny of majority in today's democracies still exists as a problem. National minority is a group of people which distinguishes themselves from that of majority and they have a desire to preserve or secure their identity in national borders (Van der Stoel, 2001: 98).

Conquests, state building, migration and economic development are major historical processes which create inequalities in the society. These processes are the main heritage to produce the division between the dominant homogenous groups and minority groups (Gurr, 1993: 34). Gurr defines minority groups, ethnic groups and peoples as communal groups. The minority groups have endured their existence in national states despite the assimilation and integration policies of modern state system (3). Minority groups have existed as

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<sup>20</sup> For Geane (1997:199) ethnicity and globalization are complementary processes. Modernist global homogenization and cultural ethnic particularization are interconnected for the analyst. Geana tries to show this complementarity by looking at the concepts: culture/civilization and individual/communication.

long as modern states have existed. De Vos (1995:37) emphasizes the psychological dimension for minority status: “significant psychological difference between the social internationalization of low-status individuals who are members of ethnic groups and those who are not”. It is very difficult for those lower status members to resist a negative self image “as a result of the socially prevalent explanations for his or her group’s relative occupational and social inferiority” (37). Ethnic minorities constitute a problem for the nation states. For Eriksen (1991) if minorities are defined as the excluded citizens of the state, they cannot use equal rights from administrative apparatus on the basis of cultural distinctiveness. Or sometimes they can be used as a symbol of the country such as Aborigines in Australia.

The concept of minority does not include every ethnic group. While a cultural bond, a common history is necessary to have an ethnic identity, legal framework is necessary to have a minority identity. The status of minorities is mostly a subject of international agreements and international organizations. Therefore, a brief review of OSCE’s (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) definition of minorities and the objectives of agreements are discussed. The protection of minorities is a subject related to the issues of identity, security and stability in the regions. In order to find out a solution to this subject by respecting each other’s right and common rights, the bilateral treaties were signed among the participating states under the OSCE. The OSCE has been obliged to respect all participating countries’ territorial integrity and to respect the human rights including minorities after the Helsinki Final Act of August 1975 signed. This decision was strengthened with another document, 1991 Moscow Document on the Human Dimension. It consists the respect for the human rights and mutual interest for all participating countries. Then OSCE has developed some standards and instruments by legitimizing the interests of all participants and the interest of citizenry. It actually addresses minority rights in accordance with the rule of law (van der Stoel, 2001: 207-208).

Another significant and recent document is OSCE Copenhagen Document of 1990 that imposes the participatory states to implement the basic principles regarding the treatment of persons belonging to national minorities such as

equality before the law, freedom to express, development of their cultural, ethnic, religious identity (209). The most problematic issue is whether the degree of diversity within the state causes to its disintegration or not. Van der Stoel believes that a minority with the opportunity “to fully develop its identity is more likely to remain loyal to the state than a minority which is denied its identity” (209). The Copenhagen Document emphasizes the respect for the rights of persons who is a part of national minorities, which is a main factor for peace, stability and democracy (209). Apart from the treaties’ perspective, the minority rights are basically part of human rights. It aims to “achieve equal respect for everyone’s identity – that is, everyone’s dignity” (van der Stoel, 2001: 210). The minority rights is expressed in many international instruments, such as the Council of Europe’s Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, the OSCE’s Copenhagen Document on the Human Dimension, and the Central European Initiative’s Minority Rights Instrument. These international instruments oblige the participating countries to accomplish the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minority rights, such as language, educational curricula and administration and so on.

Minority rights are mainly expressed in Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which aims: “Persons belonging to minorities ‘ shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language”” (van der Stoel, 2001: 210). This provides a right to learn their own language and religion. This article implies in minimum that there ought to be open and free kind of dialogue between state and minorities.

Kurdish question brought about the discussion whether they could use minority rights or not. Turkish government has a clear view on those who are minority and those who are not minority. According to Turkish constitutional system, minorities are “only group of persons defined and reorganized as such on the basis of multilateral or bilateral instruments to which Turkey is a part” (Kemp, 2001: 212). The status of minorities has been defined according to 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. Only non – Muslim persons can be belonged to minorities (214). For Gurr (1993: 71), Turkish law and public policy is an alternative ideal way of assimilation. In

order to create homogeneous Turkish identity among country's diverse ethnic and cultural groups, Turkish state defined a legal framework to assimilate them. Successive constitutions imbued this framework in order to protect Turkish national identity.

## 2.6. A Brief and Historical Review of Minorities in Turkey

As will be seen in the analysis part of this work, the change from the *millet* (nation) system of the Ottoman Empire to the 'one nation- one state' concept of the Turkish Republic is quite important for ethnic minorities. Muslims of the Ottoman Empire along with significant Christian and Jewish minorities partly populated the Asiatic provinces. In spite of there being Christian and Jewish minorities, the Empire was ruled mainly according to *Islamic law, Sharia*. Non-Muslim populations were integrated into the system by being given '*dhimni*' (protected, in practice, tributary) status. By paying a special tax (*cizye*) they were allowed to live in the Empire. Beside their religious freedom, they had autonomy in conducting their own affairs, but as second-class subjects. The political and social multi-ethnic structure of the Empire was called the *millet* system. (Zürcher, 1994:12)<sup>21</sup> For Andrews (1989:18), *millet* refers to "the old Ottoman denomination by which the semi-autonomous minorities were known, rather than 'nation' in the modern sense". In this way different groups co-existed and articulated with the society, having a sense of their place and "a strong sense of their own group identity in a particular locality". The multi-ethnic structure of the Empire and *millet* system was dependent on Islamic integration. Lewis notes that "there was a Muslim millet, but no Turkish or Arab or Kurdish millets: there were Greek and Armenian and Jewish millets, but as religious communities, not as ethnic nations" (1965:329).

Because of a shift in world political structure from multi-ethnic empires to the nation states, the Ottoman Empire lost some of its lands. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Empire decided to reform the political structure of the state in order to

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<sup>21</sup> Christian and Jewish communities represented by their embassies and consuls received a great deal of autonomy, which was called 'capitulations'. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the capitulations were put under protection by treaties. Towards the end of the Empire, the capitulations under the growing strength of European pressure, gave advantage to the Muslim population. Later the *dhimni communities*' privileges were preserved by the Turkish Republic on the basis of the Ottoman millet system (Zürcher,1994:12).

resist western powers. The adoption of the Western European model of modernization became the only acceptable solution because the West was perceived as technically superior to the Ottoman Empire, and Reformists thought that if they followed the modernization path along with Western Europeans, the Empire would remedy its backwardness. The discourse of modernization / westernization became a model for the republic.

The homogeneous nation building process, i.e. social engineering process as indicated above by Hobsbawn (1990), presumed everybody living in Turkey to be a Turkish citizen. The last census, which emphasized the different ethnic groups in Turkey, was done in 1965. Andrews gives the numbers of the Muslim immigrant groups on the basis of the 1965 census: 101,328 Muslim immigrants from Bulgaria (1989: 92); 129,718 Muslim immigrants from Balkan Countries except Bulgaria (1989: 98); and 53,520 Albanian Muslim immigrants (1989: 132).

Muslim ethnic groups that immigrated to Anatolia hoped to keep their religious identity in a new and secure homeland ruled by Islamic principles and protected by the Ottoman Sultan. These groups were disappointed by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and by the foundation of the Turkish Republic that abolished the *millet* system of the Ottoman Empire in order to construct a new national identity and citizenship. Turkish citizenship described every person who lived in Turkey as 'Turk' and totally disregarded their ethnic and religious origins (İçduygu, Çolak & Soyarik 1999:193).<sup>22</sup> These dynamics have had varying degrees of influence over forty-seven different ethnic groups living in Turkey (Andrews, 1989). Kemalism, a set of ideas developed in the 1920s but named in the 1930s, is basically a modernization project of Turkey. According to Zürcher (1994:189), it gradually became a coherent and all embracing ideology. It was the unifying ideology in the period of transition from the Ottoman Empire's multi-ethnic social identity to a

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<sup>22</sup> For İçduygu, Çolak and Soyarik (1999:193) the first attempt at a Turkish identity for the citizens of the Ottoman Empire emerged with the efforts of the Committee of Union and Progress government from 1908 to 1918. On the basis of a homogeneous state model with the premise of "one nation, one state" later realized by the Turkish Republic. In 1924, Article 88 of *Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu* described the meaning of citizenship in the Turkish Republic. Turkish Citizenship Law on 23 May 1928 numbered 1312, this legal regulation was based on a descent and territorial understanding as complementary. Today, the law dated 11 February 1964, Law 403 is still based on descent and territorial understanding as complementary "in order to avoid statelessness among the foreigners in the country".

modernized, unified national identity. In order to build a nation state after the collapse of the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire all citizens in the Republic were constitutionally declared Turkish. While non-Muslim minorities such as Greeks, Jews and Armenians were recognized as minorities<sup>23</sup> according to the Lausanne Treaty and received privileges, all Muslim ethnic groups were considered to be Turks (Kushner, 1997: 222). The maxims of this ideology continued to guide the Turkish Republic after the death of the Turkish leader, M. Kemal Atatürk. Later, the leaders of the military coup of 1960, 1971 and 1980 decided to re-institute these principles in the name of “national unity and solidarity” (*milli birlik ve beraberlik*) which had been eroded during the violent struggles first between left and rightist groups, and second between Kurdish nationalists and the Turkish state (Parla, 1991:13). Despite their efforts, it became evident that the policy of inoculating an identity from above as formulated by the state was a futile effort.

In September 1980, the last military coup in Turkey was a breaking point for political and social life. Despite the goals of the military leaders to create a new national identity on the basis of a Turkish-Islamic interpretation of Kemalism<sup>24</sup>, new social movements and identities emerged in the late 1980's. In addition to influential Islamic and Kurdish movements, gender and environment groups have appeared in the political arena (Göle 1994:215). A gradual shift from a monolithic state-centered and homogeneous ideology to pluralism and multiculturalism is occurring. Even taboo issues such as Kurdish ethnic identity have begun to be understood and discussed in new terms both academically and among the public at large.

These developments were not specific to Turkey. The shift from a bi-polar structure of ideologies, explicitly linked to the fall of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to the flourishing of a diversity of political groups questioning ethnicity, multiculturalism, and identities has become prominent in the world politics since

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<sup>23</sup> The situation of Muslim ethnic minorities is questionable since Article 39 in Lausanne Treaty gives certain rights to Muslim ethnic minorities but these were never acknowledged by the Turkish state.

<sup>24</sup> Religion and nationalism, i.e. Turkishness and Islam are linked in a complex way. The idea goes back to the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman state elites discussed Islam and Turkishness as an alternative to the policy of Ottomanism. As an articulating element, Turkish – Islamic interpretation has been used in different periods with more or less the same meaning. For more detailed information: Gökhan Çetinsaya (July-October 1999: 351).

the 1990s. During the same period in Turkey, Islamic movements mainly led by the Welfare Party and Kurdish ethnic movements have left their imprints on the political scene and agenda. Meanwhile, the political elite envisaged such deviant political organizations as a threat to the legitimacy of the state and to the dictums of the official state ideology. In order to tackle these problems, the Turkish state has attempted to integrate the Islamic movements within the existing political structures and institutions by using Turkish-Islamic Synthesis, while defining Kurdish nationalists as terrorist groups (Copeaux 2000:79, Köker 1996: 150-151, Rouleau 1996:76-77).

The main reasons for the failure to maintain a state defined national identity were the loss of credibility of the Kemalist modernization process through the impact of globalization, the spread of new information and communication technologies, and the rise of the new right ideology as an extreme liberal reaction against the welfare state. These developments led to a multiplication of identities in the form of sub identities, supra identities, gender based identities and ethnic identities (Ünsal, 1998:192).

In general, the discourse of nationalism appeals to every member of the society and seeks to be inclusive. In its initial stage, progressive nationalism defined legal rights on the basis of the concept of citizenship and concentrated on the process of nation-state building. In due time, in its efforts to create homogeneous society, it excluded some social groups especially for ethnically and religiously different groups. The reaction of minorities to this exclusionary nationalism is cultural. The minority literature, which appeared in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, can be considered as product of such a reaction. The groups, which are considered to be incompatible with the main culture, are suppressed. In this attempt to melt down differences within a homogenous structure, nationalism produced latent exclusionary mechanisms and prevented different ethnic groups to be articulated to the main social groups. The minority cultures which are/can not be melted down by the homogenization policies of the dominant group have reacted reflexively.

The foundation stage of the Turkish Republic is also adopted the homogenizing and inclusive nation-state model. Islam, which is considered as the value of the majority, is seen as bond that holds the society. Being Turk is considered to be the same as being a Muslim. While non-Muslim minorities are considered to be equal citizens, they expressed the ways in which they are discriminated and excluded from the society. The probability of being censored to express this discontentment in other mediums such as newspapers, radios, etc. explains why literary works are selected as the unit of analysis.

The conceptual framework on nationalism, ethnic identity and minorities which is established in this chapter is used for the analysis chapters of this study. Those who remain outside of the ethnic group to which one feels affiliated, are perceived as the "other". The minority discourses that are emerged from literary works are classified under three categories; the late Ottoman period, early Republican period and ethnic identities. The examination of the way in which the minorities defined themselves against Turkish national identity and they perceived the minority image attributed to them is realized through Foucault's method of genealogy analyzed in the next chapter. In order to observe the self-definition of ethnic identities, a period from the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century until 1960s is examined through geneological discourse analysis.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1. Boundaries of the Research

The study concentrates on non-Muslim ethnic groups such as Armenians and Anatolian Greeks that are settled in Turkey and that are legally considered minority by the Lausanne Treaty of 1923.<sup>1</sup> The literary works written by authors who belong to these ethnic groups and who had lived or who are still living in Turkey are selected as the unit of analysis.

In fact, minorities have written and published memories and/or novels in their own languages, which have depicted their time since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Bali, 1999: 6). Later, these works were translated to Turkish. While *Aras* Publishing House translated these works from Armenian to Turkish, *Belge* Publishing house, besides the literary works of other ethnic groups, translated literary works published in Greek in series called *Marenostrum (Bizim Deniz, Halklar Denizi, Our Sea, People's Sea)*. The literary works published in Hebrew, French, Spanish (*Ladino*) by Turkish Jews in foreign countries in are not translated into Turkish.

The literary works of Jews are excluded from the analysis as they are mostly written in French, Spanish or Ladino. Apart from works written in Turkish by Jewish writers such as Mario Levi (1999), E. Erdem (1988, 1991), Liz Behmoaras

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<sup>1</sup> “Art 39: Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Muslims.

All the inhabitants of Turkey, without distinction of religion, shall be equal before the law.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restrictions shall be imposed on the free use by any Turkish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding the existence of the official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Turkish nationals of non-Turkish speech for the oral use of their own language before the Courts.” Lausanne Treaty: Part I <http://www.hri.org/docs/lausanne/part1.html>

(1993) and Beki Bahar (1995, 2000), most of the works unfortunately do not give any clues about their community life and their identity. They basically consist of general aphorisms and moral suggestions for life. For these reasons and following the advice of Rifat Bali, Jewish literary works are excluded.

Bali explains the reason why the minority groups, especially the Jews are reluctant to write their literary works in Turkish. For him the reason behind this reluctance is the distrust of the community to official authorities. The possibility of the translation of their scripts in Turkish worries them as they can be used against their community. Therefore, they have not clearly expressed their lives and thoughts in Turkish lands in their own languages (Bali, 1999: 6). A possible translation in Turkish could lead to increase in tension with the authorities. The discreteness of the Jewish community in this issue can also be explained with their feeling of loyalty and gratitude to the state. Therefore, they have never been critical about the policies of the state (Bali, 1997: 49).

Other non-Muslim ethnic groups' effort to translate their works in Turkish should be evaluated differently. These groups unlike the Jewish group were with writing their works in their own language merely for their own group but also wrote in Turkish to share their life in the public domain with other citizens of the Turkish Republic. In that way, they ruled out the fashionable motto of being part of the mosaic, which has been widely used after the 1980s to refer to the presence of different ethnic groups living in Anatolia. They argued that they were not just a part of the mosaic but an essential part of the Anatolian territory. They just shared their feelings and sentiments of living in Turkey.

The political and social developments that are discussed in the previous chapter (the questioning of the homogenous structure of the state and the popularity of pluralism and multiculturalism) led to widespread ethnic identity discussions which were once considered as taboo. These political and social developments after 1980's further accelerated the translation of literary works written by these minority groups. These events indicate that the will of the Turkish state to melt non-Muslim ethnic groups in the same national pot in order to create a new citizenship was not successful (Bali, 1999: 4). As the policies of the state to create

a homogenous Turkish identity failed, and as the discourse of tolerance and multiculturalism raised in 1980s, and accelerated in 1990s publications on literary works dealing with minorities flourished (1999: 5).

Being one of the settled populations in Anatolia is another reason for the selection of the Greek and Armenian literary works and the exclusion of Jewish literary works as the unit of analysis. The two main groups, which are not migrated but settled populations in Anatolia, which are non-muslim, and which are considered as minority within the context of Lausanne Treaty are discussed in this study; i.e. Armenians and Greeks. Moreover, in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century these two ethnic groups could associate themselves with their own countries i.e. Greece and Armenia. On the other hand, Israel was established only after the Second World War. Therefore, Turkish Jews do not have state with which they could associate themselves.

The literary works of Armenians and Greeks are selected on the basis of interviews with the editors and owners of the publishing houses and journals located in *İstanbul*.<sup>2</sup> The limited amount of literary works printed in Turkish prevented us from merely selecting novels that mainly deal with the issue of identity. Therefore, all the literary works, novels, stories, memoirs and autobiographies written by Armenian and Greek origin Turkish authors are included in the analysis. All these works, totally 29 literary works of 4934 pages, are carefully read and their main themes are determined according to historical events and facts, memories, government policies and implementations. 20 novels out of 29 are considered quite relevant with the research topic. Thus, nine novels are excluded from the analysis. As one can observe from *Tables I* and *II*, most of the literary works are compiled from the Marenostrom series of the *Belge* Publishing house and *Aras* Publishing house. On the basis Foucault's method of genealogy, main historical events and state policies are thoroughly elaborated in relation to selected literary works.

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<sup>2</sup> *Aras*, *Belge* and *Gözlem* are the main publishing houses which publish the literary works of non-muslim Turks. *AGOS* and *Salom* newspapers addresses to Armenian and Jewish communities respectively.

Most of the selected literary works were originally written either in Armenian or Greek and then they were translated into Turkish in the late 1980's. The most important series of literary works concerning these two ethnic groups are the *Marenostrum* series published by Ragıp Zarakolu, the owner of *Belge* Publishing house. The series started to be published in 1983 and it consists of approximately 85 works. Most of the Greek works are selected from these series. The critics of Herkül Milas were also influential in the selection of novels. Milas argued that some of the works which are translated in Turkish (such as the works of Dido Satiriou ve İordanidu) are written mainly for Turkish readers. Greek works mainly focus on the issue of population exchange and depict the life of people who are settled in Greece.

Editor Osman Köker from *Aras* publishing house and Karin Karakaşlı from *AGOS* newspaper assisted the selection of Armenian literary works. The selected literary works are not only interpreted by the subjective comments of the author, but by using relevant literary, political and social studies. As explained earlier, discourse analysis is selected as a research method.

The counter discourse that these two minority groups have developed against the dominant national / official discourse is the main focus of this study. The genealogy of this counter-discourse is followed and analyzed through the selected literary works. On the basis of Foucault's theory, the discursive forms that the repressed constituted in the historical process and the way in which the other (national-official) discourse has changed are analyzed through discourse analysis. In order to explain the theoretical framework, some methodological information is given on discourse analysis and the way in which this analysis is implemented in this study is analyzed. Then, brief summaries of novels are given to present the data used in this study.

As indicated chapter two, the thesis' main theoretical framework is based on nationalism, ethnic identity and minorities. The archives that are used in the analysis, as mentioned above, are the literary works written by authors / intellectuals from the minorities. It is believed that reading all these archives through the genealogical discourse analysis method will help us to determine the

leading, hidden, repressed and absent discourses in literary works. Different types of discourses were all functional in self-perception of minorities and their identity construction. Then, in analysis chapters, findings from the archives would be elaborated according to the main theoretical framework, nationalism, ethnic identity and minorities.

### **3.2. Discourse Analysis**

For the interpretation of narratives such as written and oral documents, discourse analysis is generally used. Discourse analysis is a useful method to understand the relationship between macro-level social structures and ideologies and micro-level events, texts and conversations. A narrative can be defined as recounting a sequence of events or telling a story (Thompson, 1999: 284). This kind of method, for Van Dijk, will bridge the gap between macro analysis and micro analysis (Gaspar, 1996:4). An interpretative methodology of discourse analysis through using literary works of non-Muslims seems to be an appropriate tool for the study of the relationship between ethnic groups and the state.

Thompson (1990) uses “depth hermeneutics” to analyze ideology and symbolic forms which are embedded in social and historical context. He gives three phases for the depth-hermeneutical approach: Social-historical analysis, formal or discursive analysis, and interpretation / re-interpretation. In social-historical analysis, “all symbolic forms are produced, transmitted and received in specific social and historical conditions” (281). It is useful to “reconstruct the social and historical conditions of the production, circulation and reception of symbolic forms” (282). Formal or discursive analysis is a useful tool to draw complex symbolic constructions and the rules or resources available to the producers for “complex symbolic constructions which display an articulated structure” (284). Another method for discourse analysis is argumentative analysis which is useful for the study of political discourse, i.e. how the power is exercised within the modern nation state. The last method is interpretation / re-interpretation which seeks to unveil pattern and devices in a symbolic or discursive form. All of these methods enable the researcher to “see a symbolic form in a new way, in relation to the contexts of its production and reception and in the light of the patterns and

devices which constitute it.” It goes beyond the method of social historical analysis and formal and discursive analysis (290).

Within the diversity of interpretative strategies, Foucault pays attention to literary texts. Hermeneutics, as an interpretative strategy for literary works, is “the totality of the learning and skills that enable one to make the signs speak and to discover their meaning” (1973: 29). Foucault, in an interview with Roger – Pol Droit, expresses his ideas on the nature of literature. For him, literature is something to be observed, not something to be analyzed, or reduced, or integrated into the very field of analysis. “It was a rest, a thought on the way, a badge, a flag” (Droit, 1986 printed in Foucault, 1988: 307). The literary and philosophical discourses give “a particular sacralization and function”. Therefore these discourses can be functioned as a “general discourses for all other discourses” (308). Besides the institutions and practices, the literary text is a main tool for interpretative strategies. The creator of the literary text, the author, is not a person who writes the text. S/he creates the unity of the meaning and s/he is the source of consistency (Foucault, 1987: 35). For Foucault the intentions of the author does not have much value. Instead, he investigates the articulated hierarchies of value and meaning in text in order to draw “connections between the given text and others, between the text and the intellectual and material context” (Poster).<sup>3</sup>

Foucault’s concepts of “archeology” and “genealogy” are used in this study as an interpretative method of analysis. These concepts search for the continuities and discontinuities between episteme (knowledge systems) and social context that consist of some knowledge and practices. Archeology aims to explore “the interior of discourse in order to determine the rules that govern it and to describe the various relations among statements in a discursive formation” (Poster). This critical method looks for the antagonisms and struggles among discourses in the history. “Archeological description is precisely such an abandonment of the history of ideas, a systematic rejection of its postulates and procedures, an attempt to practice a quite different history of what men have said” (Foucault, 1972: 138). In

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<sup>3</sup> Poster, M. “Michel Foucault on Rhetoric”, <http://bradley.bradley.edu/~ell/foucfft.htm>

archeology, Foucault searches the rules of formation, which are based on particular statements in any discourse available in the present and can be repeated in future. This method focuses on “pure description of discursive events” (27). An archeology of knowledge cannot be expressed with a single word. Archeology, for Foucault, “is a radical event that is distributed across the entire visible surface of knowledge, and whose signs, shocks, and effects it is possible to follow step by step” (1973: 217). By examining the events with its own arrangements, archeology

will recount how the configurations proper to each positivity were modified (...) It will analyze the alteration of the empirical entities which inhabit the positivities (...) it will study the displacement of the positivities each in relation to others (...) lastly it will show that the general area of knowledge is no longer that of identities and differences, that of non-quantitative order, that of a universal characterization, of a general *taximonia*, of a non-measurable mathesis, but an area made up of organic structures, that is, of internal relations between elements whose totality performs a function; it will show that these organic structures are discontinuous, that they do not, therefore, form a table of unbroken simultaneities, but that certain of them are on the same level whereas others form series or linear sequences (1973: 218).

On the other hand, genealogy, unlike synchronic method of archeology, is a diachronic method. Genealogy attempts to reconstruct the origins and development of discourses by showing their deep rootedness in a domain of power relations. This method gives a “top-down form of social control in the form of physical coercion meted out by the sovereign to a more diffuse and insidious form of social surveillance and process of ‘normalization’” (Pinkus, 1996). Genealogy is a Nietzschean effort to develop a critical method that undermines all absolute grounds. It demonstrates the origins of things only in relation to and in contest with other things. Genealogy disallows pure beginnings, those historical formations that deny their historicity by naturalizing themselves, absolutizing themselves, grounding themselves in some transcendent principle. “[t]ogether with archaeology, genealogy constitutes ‘an analytic finitude, one that undercuts metaphysical pretensions, overblown notions of reason’s ability to ground discourse, but not ethical action in the best sense of the term’” (Poster). Moreover, Foucault’s method searches for contingencies instead of looking causes in order to explore power relations in political arguments. Kendall and Wickham say that Foucault’s method makes it easy to be as skeptical as possible in regard to all political arguments (1999:5). This method will help to find out the interplay between discourse and practice.

### 3.3. Discourse Theory

New research methods for ideologies or hidden meanings go back to 1970s. The events of May 1968 and the crisis of welfare state capitalism in 1970s (Torfing, 1999:1) have triggered a new approach to social, political and cultural events. The proliferation of social movements together with economic crisis put the role of working class into question. The identities and the construction of ideologies, the heterogeneity of discourse have started to be studied frequently by the theoreticians. They have elaborated social identities as differences in the system of negative relations by using Saussure's<sup>4</sup> linguistic concepts. Discussion on language and ideology goes back Saussure. Bakhtin (1981) and Volosinov (1973) asserted that language in terms of content and structure is ideological.<sup>5</sup> Instead of taking language as a simple instrument reflecting reality, they concentrated on language as a social practice that plays a role in the constitution of reality. Various scholars such as Pêcheux (1982), Bourdieu (1991), Laclau and Mouffe (1985), Fairclough (1989, 1992) and Van Dijk (1988) have pursued their study in social and political science. Laclau, Mouffe and Zizek have developed the theory of discourse by combining post-structuralism, post-marxism and Lacanian subject theory. Laclau and Mouffe on the basis of these contributions tried to develop a non-essentialist concept of hegemony. Their path-breaking analysis has been criticized and further developed mainly by Jessop (1990), Fairclough (1995) and Hall (1990). These theoretical attempts help to see ambiguity of social and political events and narratives such as the collapse of communism, the rise of fundamentalism, and polarization of identities.

Discourse analysis provided a relevant method of analysis in this ambiguous environment to search the dominant forms and content of relations between power and knowledge. Meanwhile, this methodology also searches the forms of

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<sup>4</sup> For Saussure (1966), Language is a system constituted of signs (a key word) which are themselves are the combination of the signified (the thought or mental image) and signifier (a sound or visible image such as a spoken or written word or phrase).

<sup>5</sup> For Bakhtin, the certainty of meaning was disrupted by contradictory interests within the language community. Volosinov who worked on the semiotic character of ideologies stated that “[e]verything that belongs to ideology has a semiotic value” and it is always multi-accentual, and Janus-faced – that is, it can be discursively rearticulated to construct new meanings, connect with different social practices and position social subjects differently (Hall, 1990: 140).

domination and hidden meanings in a given social – historical context by constructing narratives. The method goes beyond textual analysis in terms of situating into different ideologies. It enables us to understand relations of power and domination in a specific context (Salih, 1998: 13).

Despite the popularity of discourse theory, there are philosophical debates on discursivity of everything which stems from Foucault's argument that "nothing has any meaning outside of discourse" (Foucault, 1972 quoted from Hall, 1997: 45). For Hall, Foucault by using the statement wanted to overcome the traditional distinction between what one says (language) and what one does (practice). Discourse by defining and producing the objects of our knowledge constructs the topic. For Foucault, topic can express meanings and reasons (Hall 1997: 44). By pursuing Foucault, Laclau and Mouffe asserted that all knowledge is positioned within a discourse. It does not mean that all knowledge dissolves into discourse.<sup>6</sup> Discursive power games among antagonistic forces decide the prerequisites of emerging a particular identity so that social struggles can be defined for them as a war of interpretation that constructs the meanings discursively (Laclau, 1990: 216).

However, Fairclough (1989: 24) pointed out that discourses distracted from the structure are dependent on social struggles and social relations. It is impossible for us to act without taking into consideration our cognitive abilities on the social and cultural environment that we are brought up. Therefore, it is believed that there is a need to prospect the social conditions that determine the "openness" of subjects to specific projects and/or make them structurally "available" for mobilization (Jessop, 1990: 302). It does not mean that relations between structures and discourses are deterministic. Hegemonic struggles operate with their discursive potentials and constraints that depend on the various types of articulation and durability in a given context. For Fairclough (1995:81) interpretation of discourses among antagonistic forces would never make sure to improve a certain concept. Process of appropriation for a certain concept or

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<sup>6</sup> Barrett (1991: 76-7) points out that they are not "collapsing" or "dissolving everything into discourse". Laclau and Mouffe insist that meaning of the physical objects can only be captured from a discourse with social rules.

strategy could only be contingent and provisional with fixation of signifiers by hegemonic forces.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, Jessop's notion of "strategy" indicates (1990: 243) that the structure and *modus operandi* of the State is open to some types of political strategy than others (1990: 260). In other words, interpretation of discourses among antagonistic forces would never make guarantee the dominance of a certain strategy. Process of appropriation for a particular strategy could only be contingent and provisional by means of fixing signifiers with hegemonic forces. Strategy here refers to Foucauldian 'tactical polyvalence of discourses':

Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy (Foucault, 1990: 101 – 102).

Hegemonic force decides the advantages and disadvantages of articulating different material, social and discursive factors, develops a strategy and acts accordingly. As there are different hegemonic forces with different strategies, they can represent different interests, alliances, and tactics. The process of selection of strategies to construct a hegemonic force is dependent on economic, social conditions and structures. These conditions may give rise to one particular hegemonic force to be powerful. For Jessop (1990: 244) political power has a multi-faceted character, as different discourses are constructed by the hegemonic force or the state.

### **3.3.1. Methodological Clarifications**

Although there are many ways to carry out discourse analysis, main discourse analysis methods can be divided into two: descriptive and interpretative. Although descriptive analysis pays attention to structure and linguistic features such as grammar and vocabulary, interpretative methods try to come across the ways in which hegemonic power articulates contradictory elements within the same discourse.

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<sup>7</sup> For Saussure (1966), Language is a system constituted of signs (a key word) which are themselves are the combination of the signified (the thought or mental image) and signifier (a sound or visible image such as a spoken or written word or phrase).

Discourse analysis in this study is not concerned with the linguistic formation of discourses but their interpretation with methods of genealogy. Whereas in this thesis, less attention is paid to linguistic analysis of discourse which is “structured and governed by internal rules, which are a feature of the discourse itself”, more interest is paid in “the idea of discourse as consisting of groups of related statements which cohere in some way to produce both meanings and effects in the real world, i.e. the idea of discourse as having force, as being productive”(Carabine, 2001: 268). For Foucault, “discourses are productive” and they “produce the objects of which they speak – sexuality, madness” or, they are “constitutive”; they can construct a particular version of ethnic identity as real. Furthermore, discourses are also productive as they have power outcomes or effects. Discourses are very useful to define and construct “what is ‘truth’ at particular moments” (268). The discourse of ethnicity will provide a particular truth of non-Muslims’ identity – Greeks and Armenian - in Turkey.

A reasonable discourse based on the strategies operates together with hegemonic power in a social formation. The success of discourse is dependent on the contingency relations. For Thompson, “. . . an analysis of discourse is to produce an interpretation of interpretation, to reinterpret a pre-interpreted domain.” (1984: 9) Interpretative methods can be subjective. An analyst cannot be able to escape his or her cognitive abilities, values and beliefs. However it is not seen as a problem for them. It is believed that process of interpretation will be helpful for the process of understanding. Interpretation of an interpretation, re-interpretation and pre-interpretation for a subject remind is always a subjective process as Thompson emphasizes:

The object domain of social inquiry is also a subject domain... the subjects who make up the subject – object domain are, like social analysts themselves, subjects capable of understanding, of reflecting, and of acting on the basis of this understanding and reflection (1990:275).

### 3.3.2. Conceptual Clarification

#### 3.3.2.1. Discourse

Discourse in linguistic is used generally as a term for writing and speech. Foucault's discourse is related to the rules and practices that lead to meaningful statements in different historical periods. Foucault's conception of discourse is quite paradoxical. Discourse as a practice is "the enigmatic treasure of "things" anterior to discourse, the regular formation of objects that emerge only in discourse" (1972: 47 – 48). On the other hand, discourse as a constitutive element is "tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations" (1990: 101). Hall gives a comprehensive definition based on these two conceptualizations:

a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – away, of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment ... Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. .... Since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape an influence what we do – our conduct- all practice have a discursive aspect (Hall, 1992:291 quoted from Hall, 2001: 72).

The concept of discourse does not only deal with existence of things but also origins of the meaning. Knowledge of things can be obtained within a specific historical context only if they have any meaning. Continuity between each period makes no sense for Foucault who just looks to specific periods when the discourse produces forms of knowledge, objects and subjects (Hall, 2001: 73-74).

Discourses are not certain and they can be fluid, sometimes opportunistic. The reason for interaction of discourses with each other is because of their aptness to be easily mediated each other. So, discourses are productive. It means that they can easily create normative ideas or common sense notions about, for instance, morality, sexuality, nationality, and identity. This leads to shortcut ways to ideas including messages about acceptable or non-acceptable behaviors. Representations of discourses not only shift the meanings but also have concrete results (Carabine, 2001: 269).

Discourse is not only about a language but also defines and produces the objects of our knowledge. Meanwhile, it effects ways of the ideas put into practice and regulate the conduct of others. For Foucault, discourse has never consisted of one statement.

The same discourse, characteristic of the way of thinking or the state of knowledge at any one time (what Foucault called the episteme), will appear across a range of texts, and as forms of conduct, at a number of different institutional sites within society. However, whenever these discursive events 'refer to the same object, share the same style and ... support a strategy... a common institutional, administrative or political drift and pattern' then they are said by Foucault to belong to the same discursive formation. (Hall, 2001:72-73).

An episteme is a production of knowledge that things allocate the meanings. It determines how things can be accepted meaningful. It is an unconscious process since the facts are easily accepted without any elaboration of their ability to the truth (Danaher, Schirato, Webb, 2000: 17). For instance, when we are born in a country, we never question our nationality. We just accept ourselves as Turkish, French, Dutch, or whatever.

Discursive formation renames social formation in a given time. Uncertainties or breaking points in history give way to transformation from one discursive formation to another.

### **3.3.2.2. Power and Knowledge**

Foucault, in his later works, focused on the ways in which "knowledge was put to work through discursive practices in specific institutional settings to regulate the conduct of others". The relationship between knowledge and power, and power functions in an institutional apparatus and its technologies are main concerns for Foucault. Foucault's concept of power is a new conceptualization. Knowledge in relation to power assumes the authority of the truth. Knowledge normalizes the conduct of others including constraints, regulations and practices (Hall, 2001: 76). For Foucault, power does not operate from top to bottom. The power circulates and acts like a web/network, which means that power relationship, can be found in every level of social life. As indicated above, power is not about domination relations. It is productive including pleasure, forms of knowledge and various discourses (Hall, 2001: 77).

Foucault pays attention to strategies of power such as “dispositions, maneuvers, tactics, techniques, functionings” (1977: 26). These strategies function in a different level. In other words, a “micro – physics’ of power” in institutions and apparatuses operate “in a sense between these great functionings and the bodies themselves with their materiality and their forces” (26). These relations can go deeper in society than usual power relations such as dominant class, state, and the law.<sup>8</sup> Power relations in a society “are not localized in the relations between the state and its citizens or on the frontier between classes and that they do not merely reproduce, at the level of individuals, bodies, gestures and behavior, the general form of the law or government” (Foucault, 1977: 27).

Effects of power relations construct knowledge and truth and make discourses historically promising. Discourses as a set of social and historical rules constructed by knowledge and truth gives an idea about normality. Thus, discourses can be powerful enough to express what is and what is not. Some discourses are powerful than others. They have more authority or validity. Dominant discourses tell “what is ‘normal’ and ‘natural’ whilst establishing the boundaries of what is acceptable and appropriate” in a social context. To understand discourse, it should be seen as “intermeshed with power/knowledge where knowledge both constitutes and is constituted through discourse an effect of power” (Carabine, 2001: 275).

Normalization is a kind of process among discourses through which power is deployed and expressed. It includes messages, which determine what the norm is and what it is not. Relationship between discourse and normalization processes first set the norm, then produce “homogeneity through processes of comparison and differentiation” (Carabine 2001: 278). A perpetual penalty mechanism functions with the disciplinary institutions, which “compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it normalizes” (Foucault, 1979: 183). Sovereign power usually takes its power from a legal base. Rules, regulations based on law and norms based on common sense strengthen the use

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<sup>8</sup> Hall (2001: 77) gives an example from the punishment system which “produces books, treatises, regulations, new strategies of control and resistance, debates in Parliament, conversations, confessions, legal briefs and appeals, training regimes for prison officers, and so on....”

of punishment and violence by the state. Nobody questions this process because of the legitimate use of power by the authority. Normalization process helps to strengthen the use of legitimate authority. The power of normalization “imposes homogeneity; but it individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialities and to render the differences useful by fitting them one to another” (184). For instance everybody living in Turkey is accepted as Turkish citizen. Turkishness is used as an artificial concept to have a homogenous nation state. Brotherhood as a moral value is used to suture all different nationalities. This is a part of normalization process. If you do not accept to be a part of Turkish national identity, you will be automatically accepted as ‘other’.

### **3.3.2.3. Genealogy and Archeology**

Foucault defines genealogy as “gray, meticulous and patiently documentary. ... It operates on ... documents that have been scratched over and recopied many times” (1977: 139). In *Discipline and Punish*, he defines genealogy as “the present scientifico-legal complex from which the power to punish derives its bases, justifications and rules, from which it extends its effects and by which it masks its exorbitant singularity” (1979: 23). His aim is to examine the contingent political and historical relationships emerged in society. For him a genealogy of “values, morality, asceticism, and knowledge will never confuse itself with a quest for their ‘origins,’ will never neglect as inaccessible the vicissitudes of history”. Instead it works with the “details and accidents that accompany every beginning; ... attentive to their petty malice; it will await their emergence, once unmasked, as the face of the other” (1977: 144). Therefore a genealogist must be able to recognize the events of history, “its jolts, its surprises, its unsteady victories and unpalatable defeats – the basis of all beginnings, atavisms, and heredities” similarly, a medical doctor diagnoses on the illnesses of the body (145).

Genealogy is a kind of successor to the method of archeology that includes “the examination of bodies of statements in the archive” (Kendall & Wickham, 1999: 29). In genealogy central focus is “the mutual relations between systems of truth and modalities of power, the way in which there is a ‘political regime’ of the

production of truth” (Davidson, 1986: 224).<sup>9</sup> The concept of genealogy was firstly used by German philosopher, Nietzsche. For him, genealogy “involved investigating the historical origins of powerful institutions and discourses which claimed to be universal and eternal” by referring Christianity (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000, 24). It works in the same way for Foucault. In archeology, he gave principles of ordering and exclusion making discursive formations and epistemes possible. By using genealogy, he paid attention to truth, knowledge and power. Genealogy in relation to discourse is different from archeology. “Where archeology provides us with a snapshot, a slice through the discursive nexus, genealogy pays attention to the processual aspects of the web of discourse- its ongoing character” (Foucault, 1981a: 70-71 quoted from Kendall & Wickham, 1999:31). It can be said that archeology and genealogy are two complementary methods. They are different on their emphasis on historical slice and historical process. For Foucault:

If we were to characterize it in two terms, then ‘archeology’ would be the appropriate methodology of this analysis of local discursivities, and ‘genealogy’ would be the tactics whereby, on the basis of the descriptions of these local discursivities, the subjected knowledges which were thus released would be brought into play (1980:85 quoted from Kendall&Wickham, 1999: 31).

Furthermore in genealogy for Kendall and Wickham, there are no exact claims about what is right and what is wrong. Foucault aimed to have:

[m]aximum individual freedom by a more active route. ... genealogy targets us, our ‘selves’: it seems we are meant to see beyond the contingencies that have made each of us what we are in order that we might in think ways that we have not thought and be in ways that we have not been; it is a tool we might use in a quest for freedom.(30)

Genealogy gives lens through which it is possible to read discourses. The lens means that it helps to read discourses “as being infused with power and knowledge” and as “playing a role in producing power and knowledge networks” (Carabine, 2001: 268). Actually, Foucault did not provide a guide for the application of genealogy. It varies according to researchers.

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<sup>9</sup> For Davidson (1986:224), genealogy does not search for the essence of things, instead it looks for “beginnings, accidents, chance, passion, petty malice, surprises, feverish agitation, unsteady victories, and power”.

Genealogy is a methodology used to analyze history. It studies discourse to reveal power and knowledge networks or web of discourses. It looks for recording “the progress and continuity of societies.” By recording it keeps away from the search for what really happened beyond the historical events in depth. Instead, an analysis works with the details, which is “meticulous and patiently documentary”. For Bell, genealogy is against “the totalizing effects for ‘superhistories... that see one great plan unfolding as time progresses” (1993: 46 quoted from Carabine, 2001:276). Because of this reason, genealogy works with the procedures, practices, apparatuses and institutions involved in the production of discourses, knowledge, and their power effects in modern society. It gives an idea about the ways how discourses are socially and politically operationalized and supported. Besides it maps strategies relations and practices of power in which knowledge are embedded and connected (276).

#### **3.4. Application of Genealogy**

Genealogy dwells on irregularities. On the other hand, archeology categorizes discourses and examines their regularities (Foucault, 1987: 59). According to Foucault, social rules cannot be observed as recurrent and regular phenomenon. Therefore, instead of regularities, the analyst should observe the functioning and frequency of power relations in its various forms, such as laws, rules, procedures and so forth (60 –61). The method of genealogy is applied in this study in order to analyze different discursive orders and to show their differences and similarities. Among the variety of discursive orders, our attempt is to examine the way in which the minorities define their self-image as opposed to Turkish identity.

To conduct our study with Faucauldian genealogical discourse analysis the following steps developed by Kendall and Wickham (1999), in *Figure 3* and Carabine (2001), in *Figure 4*, are combined and followed.

### **Steps for Genealogy**

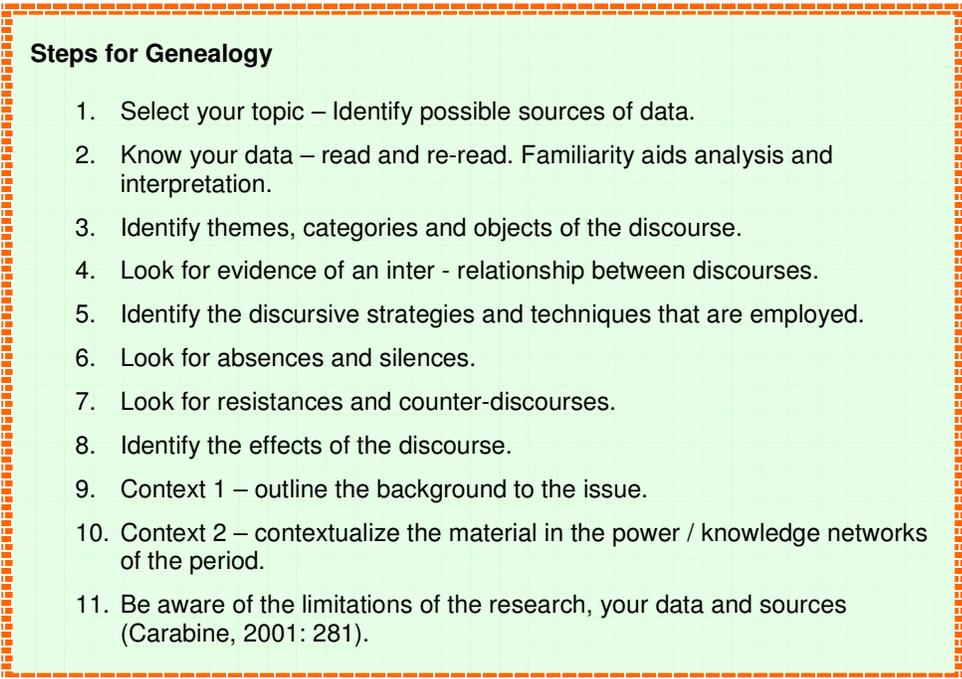
1. describes statements but with an emphasis on power
2. introduces power through a 'history of the present', concerned with 'disreputable origins and unpalatable functions', making the older guests at the table of intellectual analysis feel decidedly uncomfortable by pointing out thing about their origins and functions that they would rather remain hidden;
3. describes statements as an ongoing process, rather than as a snapshot of the web of discourse;
4. Concentrates on the strategic use of archaeology to answer problems about the present (Kendall & Wickham, 1999: 34).

*Figure 3: Steps for Genealogy by Kendall & Wickham*

Selection of topic (topic of thesis, i.e., Turkish national identity versus non-muslim ethnic identity) is significant as it enables to identify possible sources of data. In this study, our main data are literary works written by non-muslim Greek and Armenian authors. Then, in the process of "know your data", selected literary works are read and re-read to facilitate their interpretation. Third step is to identify categories (in our case, these are the late Ottoman Empire period, the Early Turkish Republic period), object of discourse (in our case these are exile and apostasy), and themes (in our case, these are adoption, migration). All these steps provide us to describe statements with an emphasis on power / knowledge (Step 1 Kendall & Wickman, Steps 1-3 Carabine).

Next step is to look for evidence of an inter-relationship between the discourses. After identifying the discursive strategies and techniques that are employed, absences and silences in discourse are examined. Then resistances and counter discourses are determined. This procedure (Step 2 in Kendall & Wickman, Steps 4-7 Carabine) illustrates power through "disreputable origins and unpalatable functions". The genealogy is emphasized as a "history of present" which does not impose political judgements, but as a "methodological devise" which has "the effects as precocious child at the dinner party". It makes "the older guests at the same table of intellectual analysis feel decidedly uncomfortable by pointing out

things about origins and function that they would remain hidden” (Kendall & Wickham, 1999: 29). Description of statements as an “on going process rather than as a snapshots of the web” (Step 3 in Kendall & Wickman, Step 8 Carabine) is useful to identify the effects of the discourse. Finally, through strategic use of archeology the background to the topic is examined and the web of power relations that exist in the discourse are interpreted (Step 4 in Kendall & Wickman, Steps 9-11).

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- Steps for Genealogy**
1. Select your topic – Identify possible sources of data.
  2. Know your data – read and re-read. Familiarity aids analysis and interpretation.
  3. Identify themes, categories and objects of the discourse.
  4. Look for evidence of an inter - relationship between discourses.
  5. Identify the discursive strategies and techniques that are employed.
  6. Look for absences and silences.
  7. Look for resistances and counter-discourses.
  8. Identify the effects of the discourse.
  9. Context 1 – outline the background to the issue.
  10. Context 2 – contextualize the material in the power / knowledge networks of the period.
  11. Be aware of the limitations of the research, your data and sources (Carabine, 2001: 281).

*Figure 4: Steps for Genealogy by Carabine*

The limits of this study and the criteria for the selection of literary works are stated in the “boundaries of research”. In this section our endeavor is to complete the step of “know your data, read and re-read” and to determine the leading themes in these literary works. Therefore, some information is given for the selected literary works, their authors and publishing houses. The examination of these data is relevant as they lay the ground of the context for discursive formation. Such information is also relevant as it clarifies the discourse produced by the repressed and the ways in which this discourse is transformed in historical process.

### 3.4.1. Belge Publishing House - Marenostum Series and Aras Publishing House

Marenostum series of Belge Publishing house has created an opportunity to “present and recognize the other from his own voice” (Karakaşlı, in the unpublished TESEV research)<sup>10</sup> and to “create a ‘counter-history’ or an ‘oral history’ against the official history” (Zarakolu, 2003). *Aras* Publishing house which started to print its publications just ten years after the Marenostum series of *Belge* Publishing house became to be the voice of the ‘other’.

Armenians have actively worked in the publishing life of the Ottoman Empire for centuries. They established the first printing house and they published innumerable works in the field of literature, religion, philosophy, nature and agriculture from the 14<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century (Köker, 2002: XII). The Armenian community, which has a long history in the printing life, was also quite influential in modern Turkey until the military coup d’etat of 1980. Not only the printing life of Armenians but also their activities on social life were almost completely interrupted. *Aras* Publishing House can be considered as turning point as it became the first publishing house after 1980 to publish Turkish works oriented to non-muslim communities living in Turkey. Related to this process Marenostum series has also established a platform for this cultural formation (Karakaşlı).

*Belge* Publishing House is founded by Ragıp ve Ayşe Nur Zarakolu and started to publish its own books in 1977. Marenostum series, which started in 1983, present the multiplicity created by the Mediterranean and Aegean cultures. Through these series cultural events and stories of different identities who have lived in these territories and who are now in minority are revealed (AGOS 70, 1 August 97).

*Aras* Publishing House is established in *İstanbul* in 1993. Publishers describe themselves as the “window which opens to Armenian literature”. Its publication language is either Turkish or Armenian. To help better understand and recognize of different people from different cultures who are born and raise up in the same

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<sup>10</sup> Quotations from unpublished TESEV (Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation) Project are indicated as Karakaşlı.

geography through literature and to contribute to the common values of humanity are the missions of *Aras Publishing House*. Furthermore, the Publishing House seeks to prevent the erosion of cultural elements of the Armenian population condensed in *İstanbul*.<sup>11</sup>

The literary work titled “*Giaour Neighborhood*” (*Gavur Mahallesi*) by Mıgırdıç Margosyan which is examined in this research is the first activity of the Publishing house in 1994. Later on, it published the works of the leading names of Armenian literature and philosophy such as Hagop Mintzuri, Hampartzum Gelyan, Antan Özer, Krikor Zohrab, Hayr Levon Zekiyan, Zaven Biberyan and Yervant Gobelyan, and William Saroyan. According to the information given by Karakaşlı, AGOS newspaper also printed books translated from Armenian to Turkish and Armanian poetry, memoires and children books. “*Giaour Neighborhood*” by Mıgırdıç Margosyan is at the topsellers list of the Publishing house. This novel had been published nine times until May 2002. Publishing house printed 28 literary works in Turkish and 19 literary works in Armenian until the same date. It also published Armenian books for children to contribute to schools teaching in Armenian.

*Belge* and *Aras Publishing* houses have not only told the story of the “other” but also have introduced samples of the minority literature to Turkish readers. In the following part of the chapter, authors and literary works which tell the story of the “other” and which are selected for the research will be presented. The lists of Greek and Armenian works (20 books) which are selected as the unit of analysis, can be seen in *Table I*. The books, which are examined but not used in this study can be observed in *Table II*.

#### **3.4.1.1. Armenian Literary Works**

In this section, Armenian authors and their works, which are chosen for study, are presented. The first step of the analysis “know your data” is accomplished in this section and the grounds of further analysis are laid down. Authors and their works are presented in random.

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<sup>11</sup> <http://www.arasyayincilik.com/turkce/turkce.html>

#### **3.4.1.1.1. Minority(ian)**

Aret Gıcır's "(Minority)ian" (*Azınlıkyan*) is a cartoon story firstly published as a book in November 2001. It tells the story of a hero called Krikor *Azınlıkyan*. There is an analogy in hero's surname. *Azınlık* means minority in Turkish. Through this analogy, hero's identity and his belongingness to Armenian community are emphasized. The hero who is born in 1966, studied in minority schools in *İstanbul*. In contrast to most members of the minority, he has not worked in a jeweler. He decides to be an accountant. Like the hero of the work, the author has also studied in minority schools in *İstanbul*.

This storybook is made up of the cartoons of Aret Gıcır published in the weekly AGOS journal between 1997 and 2000. The dominant discourse in *Azınlıkyan* is the voice of the other. In the preface of the work, Çilingir (2001) argues that this work does neither attempt to express the voice of the majority nor the minority but the voice of the other. The attitudes, which are accepted and tolerated by the society, are an extension of the normalization process. In other words, they represent routine social behavior modes (Carabine, 2001: 302). When discursive strategies and appropriate behaviors and modes become universally accepted knowledge, those which remain outside of these and those who cannot internalize this knowledge become the other.

#### **3.4.1.1.2. Tell me Margos! Where are you from? and Giaour Neighbourhood**

The other two literary works, which are used in the analysis, are "*Tell me Margos! Where are you from?*" (*Söyle Margos Nerelisen?*) (2000, 6<sup>th</sup> ed.) and "*Giaour Neighbourhood*" (*Gavur Mahallesi*) (2002, 9<sup>th</sup> ed.) belong to Mıgırdiç Margosyan. Margosyan who is considered as one of the leading representatives of Armenian village literature, among others such as Hamasdeğ, Hagop Mintzuri and Kirkor Ceyhan. In his works (including his autobiography), Margosyan tells the story of *Diyarbakır* before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. With its cosmopolitan structure *Diyarbakır* brought together quite different cultural groups such as Christians, Jews, Süryanis, Kurds, Turks, Greeks, Yezidis and Alevis.

In his stories, Margosyan tells how these different cultures are blended in the same geography with a common culture. He presents sections from the life of people who live in Southeastern

Table I. Analyzed Literary Works

Author	Name of the Book	Publisher and Year
<b>Armenians</b>	First publishing date	
Aret Gıdır	Minoriti-an ( <i>stories-comics</i> )	Aras - Nov., 2001
Mıgırdıç Margosyan	Giaour Neighbourhood ( <i>stories</i> ) 1992	Aras – May 2002, 9 <sup>th</sup> ed.
	Tell me Margos! Where are you from? ( <i>stories</i> )	Aras - 2000, 6 <sup>th</sup> ed.
Raffi Kebabciyan	Talk Mr. Halil Talk ( <i>stories</i> )	Aras – Nov., 2000
Zaven Biberyan	Dady did not Go to Ashkale ( <i>Novel</i> ) 1970	Aras – Oct. 2000, 3 <sup>rd</sup> ed.
	Alone People ( <i>Novel</i> ) 1959	Aras –Apr. 2000
Avetis Aharonyan	Bouncers on the Way of Liberty ( <i>stories</i> ) 1899-1913	Belge – Marenostrom, August 2001.
Baran Fundermann*	Giaour Elo ( <i>novel-autobiography</i> )	Belge- Marenostrom, June 1999.
Kirkor Ceyhan	Who is knocking on the Door? ( <i>stories</i> )	Belge – Marenostrom, October, 1999.
Sarkız Çerkezyan	This World is Enough for All ( <i>novel – autobiography</i> )	Belge - Marenostrom, May 2003.
<b>Greeks</b>		
Yannis Manglis	Sons of Agha from Islands to Bodrum ( <i>novel</i> ) 1979 ( <i>Greek</i> )	Belge-Marenostrom – June 1998
Dido Sotiriou	Farewell to Anatolia ( <i>novel</i> ) 1962 ( <i>First Greek publishing date</i> )	Alan - ?
Maria Iordanidu	Our Courtyard ( <i>novel-memory</i> ) 1993 ( <i>Greek</i> )	Belge- Marenostrom – 1997
	Loksandra ( <i>novel</i> ), 1963 ( <i>Greek</i> )	Belge – Marenostrom – 2003, 4 <sup>th</sup> ed.
Yorgo Andreadis	Tolika “Take me too Sister / Bacikam ( <i>novel – autobiography</i> ) 1998 ( <i>Greek</i> )	Belge-Marenostrom, November 1999.
	Those Who Have Secret Religion ( <i>novel – autobiography</i> ) 1995 ( <i>Greek</i> )	Belge- Marenostrom, August 1999, 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.
	Tamama, the lost Girl of Pontus ( <i>novel – autobiography</i> ) 1993 ( <i>Greek</i> )	Belge – Marenostrom, August 1997, 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.
Stratis Dukas	The Memoirs of a Captive, ( <i>Novel</i> ) 1928, 1987 18 <sup>th</sup> ed ( <i>Greek</i> )	Belge- Marenostrom, November 2003.
Georgios Vizyinos	Moskow Selim, ( <i>Novel</i> ,) 1895 ( <i>Greek</i> )	Belge- Marenostrom, March 1994.
Pandalis Prevelakis	Story of a Town in Crete, ( <i>Novel</i> ,) 1938 ( <i>Greek</i> )	Belge –Marenostrom, 1997.

\* As can be noticed from his name Baran Fundermann had Kurdish ethnic origin. The reason for including him to Armenian authors is the fact that the novel is about an Armenian who is grown up by a Kurdish tribe in the deportation period.

Anatolia and he describes the traditions and folkloric values of all ethnic and religious groups which live together. In the introduction of the book, the author tells about his goal:

In my writings, I told our places as I see and lived. I described the characters and names almost the same, without changing, as they are. Most of them, these “baco”s (sisters), these uncles have passed away. Their names and their memories shall live in these lines and in this book (Margosyan, 2002:6).

His stories, which are written in Armenian, are first published in Armenian *Marmara* Newspaper. These stories published in Armenian in the book titled “*Our Places*” (*Mer Ayt Goğmeri*) in 1984. He got the literary award of Eliz Kavukçuyan Foundation (France) which is given to the authors writing in Armenian, in 1988. Later he translated these stories into Turkish and published a book in 1995.

Margosyan finished his secondary education in the minority schools of *İstanbul* and then graduated from the Philosophy department of *İstanbul* University. The author has been dispatched to *İstanbul* by his family so that he learns his own language, i.e., Armenian. The lack of educational facilities in Anatolia, particularly in *Diyarbakır*, forced minorities to migrate to *İstanbul* in 1953. The nostalgia in his works and his frequent references to the togetherness of different ethnic groups in the same city can be explained by this migration. In his works, he mostly mentions about the daily life of *Diyarbakır* in the 1940’s and the 1950’s.

According to the author, the presentation of the life in *Diyarbakır* with real names and events creates a feeling of belonging:

I assume this is the reason of extreme interest to my books. Letters with eye tears are coming to me from Los Angeles, New York, Paris and Boston. I also see that the feelings which emerge from people’s words seem quite similar to ‘rebetiko’. In fact, the names of my books are the things which give this feeling most simply. I can easily tell that these three books form a trio of rebetiko. The books tell three stages: ‘In the “Giaour Neighbourhood” (Gavur Mahallesi) I told the life story of the Armenian, Turks, Kurds, Suryanis, Keldanis and Jews who lived in this neighborhood and who appear like a mosaic. In my second book when I ask “Tell me Margos! Where are you from?” I underlined the questioning of the belonging of not only Margos but of all individuals. The name of my books is the most condensed expression of this. Later, the people who lived in this mosaic found themselves in one part of the world, for example in *İstanbul* as myself, they found themselves in a deep nostalgia. I told the story of this process and my thoughts in ‘Our ticket has been issued for *İstanbul*’ (Biletimiz *İstanbul*’a Kesildi) (Hikmet Akarsu, Gösteri, quoted from Karakaşlı).

Table II. Excluded Literary Works

Author	Name of the Book	Publisher and Year
<b>Armenians</b>		
Levon Haçikyan	Secrecy of Hemşin, Pages from History of Hamşen Armenians	Belge – Marenostrom, September 1997, 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.
<b>Greeks</b>		
Yorgos Yoannu	The Only Heritage	İletişim – 1982
İlias Venezis	Aegean Stories	Belge –Marenostrom, June 2000.
Kozmas Politis	40 Years of the Lost City	Belge – Marenostrom, July 1994.
Thrasos Kastanakis	Pilgrim Manuil What Happened in Beykoz?	Belge – Marenostrom, May 1995.
<b>Jews</b>		
Emine Erdem (Viva Kanetti)	A Rose Cries Somewhere	Belge –Marenostrom, November 2000
	Byzantinian Talks	Metis, September 1988
Beki L. Bahar	On this and that: Upon 60 years	Gözlem, 1995
	On this and that: He neither knows himself nor is of by known any one...	Gözlem, November 2000.

#### 3.4.1.1.3. Talk Mr. Halil Talk

Another work, which has been examined, is the story book of Raffi Kebabcıyan, “*Talk Mr. Halil Talk*” (*Konuş Halil Bey Konuş*) (2000). Eleven stories of this book were formerly published in various Armenian books and then they were translated into Turkish by the author in 2000. The story which became the title of the book tells the story of September 6-7 Events.<sup>12</sup> It especially tells the memories of the author’s family (Kankal). These events, which will be examined in detail in the analysis section led to the looting of non-muslim houses and shops in *İzmir* and *İstanbul*. The events started with the allegation that Ataturk’s house in Thessalonica had been bombed. In order to show the destruction occurred, the books were published with pictures. The picture on the front cover of book shows the Greek Orthodox patriarch Athenagoras I in front of a church in ruins.

<sup>12</sup> These events, Ashkale and the Income tax are explained in the analysis chapter.

Kebabciyan, like other Armenian authors, studied primary school in Bezazyan Armenian School and he continued his education in a German High School. Then he went to Göttingen University in Germany to study chemistry. He currently lives in Germany. Apart from traumatic events such as September 6-7, he has also written on subjects such as diaspora, migration and longing.

#### **3.4.1.1.4. Dady did not go to Ashkale and Alone People**

Two works of Zaven Biberyan, who is considered the representative of *İstanbul* Armenian literature, are included in the analysis. “*Dady did not go to Ashkale*” (October 2000) (*Babam Aşkale’ye Gitmedi*) and “*Alone People*” (*Yalnızlar*) (April 2000). The former work is the collection of series titled the “*Dusk of Ants*” (*Mirçünnerü Verçaluysi*), which were printed firstly in Jamanak newspaper published in Armenian, in 1970. The work has been transformed to a book in 1984 and translated in Turkish. *Alone People* is the Turkish version of the novel titled “*Gadabout*” (*Ligirdadzi, Sürtük*) written in Armenian printed in 1959. The author translated his work in 1966 and firstly printed by *Öncü* Publishing House.

*Daddy did not go to Ashkale* tells the story of income tax and the impact of the war years on Armenian community. The destruction caused by the tax and the war is represented in the novel through Baret character and his family. The life of the family has been in disarray due to Ashkale.

The novel tells about the material and spiritual hardships that the family has experienced due to the income tax. The work starts with the first day when Baret returns from Ashkale. Through flashbacks, the life of the family is compared with the days preceding welfare tax. The family, which could not go along with the raising new values of the 1950s when social and political corruption get apace, chooses to be honest. The father of Baret sells all of his properties in order not to go to Ashkale. Yet, this cannot prevent his son to be recruited to *Yirmi Sınıf Kura Askerlik* (Twenty Class Soldiers) for *Nafia* service.<sup>13</sup> The father who has paid the income tax still cannot save his son from going to Ashkale. To pay or not to pay

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<sup>13</sup> Only non-muslims are recruited to the division which is named “twenty class military service”. These soldiers were mainly employed in public works. The aim of these divisions was to control minorities during the Second World War.

income tax, in the last instance has not created any difference for minorities. As a result families break up and their lives are in disarray (Karaca, 1999).

The process of the break up of the family, which has started with the expulsion of Baret to Ashkale continues with the alienation of the family members to each other. The family breaks up in a process which is impossible to reverse the mother and the sister of Baret who cannot tolerate the deterioration of their previous life standards are quite ill-tempered. Baret, who has already been unaffectionate and angry, further feels alienated from the world as a result of the poverty and he quickly breaks off with daily life.

Democrat party came to power in 1950 and it represented new values. Biberyan criticizes the Armenian community of being the carrier of these new values. Furthermore, the work has the clues of the September 6-7 1955 Events. Mrs. Azize, one of the heroines in the novel mentions about this subject:

Our community has never liked politicians who have principles. Therefore our nation's affairs have always been conducted as a grocery account... Once, they got out of a church, they step on the shoulder of the nation, they became the men of the palace to be rich. Now, they, once again, got out of a church step on the shoulder of the community and became the men of the party and arranged their money in row. Unsurprisingly, all their dirt stick to the nation as a shame but this nation does not have the habit to look of the mirror (Biberyan, 2000:361)

The other analyzed work in this study is titled *Alone People*. It describes a weekend at the beginning of the 1950s in *Erenköy*, which is a neighborhood in the Anatolian side of *İstanbul*. He realistically describes the communication problems, behavioral patterns and violence tendencies of the people from different communities and from different social classes in a period of a rapid social transformation starting with the transition to the multiparty political life. Corrupted social values are described in the context of alienated community relations.

The novel not only tells about the conflict between the peasants who have become rich and bourgeois but also about the conflict between *İstanbul* Armenians and Anatolian Armenians. Occasionally, it mentions the minority psychology within Turkish society. Karakaşlı gives an example from novel to illustrate this point. She mentions about the relationship of Erol who is a son of a wealthy family with Aret, a basketball player.

There was nothing in the fellow that might cause to a scornful laugh. Neither in his body nor in his moves nor in his speech nor in his accent . . . It was not possible to draw an Armenian cartoon with him. At least his name should be Hamparsum, Karabet or Agop. Perhaps he could tolerate 'A-ret's of the spectacle and he would be relieved and he would laugh loudly and he would become happy seeing that everybody laughed with him. Then, he would not hate from him and a repressed feeling of revenge would not grow (Karakashi)

Zaven Biberyan (1921-1984) is a leftist journalist and an author. Biberyan who was born in *İstanbul* studied in Aramyan – Uncuyan Armenian School in *Kadıköy* and Dibar Girtaran Armenian school. Then he was graduated from Saint Joseph High school and Trade Academy of *İstanbul*. Like the hero of the novel, Baret, he has worked in the service of *Nafia* in 1941 when Twenty Class Soldiers were recruited. He was considered to be one of the representatives of the leftist idealists by the 1960s generation. In the first elections held after the coup d'état of 27 May 1960 in 1965, he became the *İstanbul* mp candidate of Turkish Workers Party (*TWP – Türkiye İşçi Partisi*) but he was not elected. But he was elected to the council of municipality from TİP in local elections of 1968, and he worked as the vice-president. He published the leftist Armenian newspaper, *Nor Lur (New Newspaper)* between 1946 – 1947. He was arrested for his article titled “*Al Gi Pave...*” (*enough, not anymore*) in which he replied to anti-Armenian attitudes and publications. The newspaper was shut down by the political power. Then, he went to Beirut upon the offer of an Armenian newspaper. He turned back to Turkey because of financial problems. He could not have a permanent job because of his leftist views. He wrote literary works and he translated many works to Turkish (Biberyan, April 2000).

#### **3.4.1.1.5. Bouncers on the Way of Liberty**

Another work that has been examined is the storybook of Avetis Aharonyan's (1899-1913) “*Bouncers on the Way to Liberty*” (*Fedailer Özgürlük Yolunda*) (2001). The work was published in Turkish in the Marenostum series of *Belge* Publishing house in 2001. Although the original pieces had been written between 1899 and 1913, before the foundation of the Turkish Republic, it has been included in the analysis because of its translation date in Turkish, its sublimation of Armenian identity, the subject of the stories in it and the active role that the author played in the foundation of independent Armenia. The work was published

in France in 1978 in memory of the 30th year of death of Aharonyan. The work has been translated into Turkish by Figen Yılmaz. Leon Keçeyan from the Political Sciences Institute in Aix-en Provence has written a long preface. Although the work does not have much literary value, for Keçeyan, its importance stems from the author's witness of historical events (2001: 3). For Keçeyan, the author told both about pain that he had been exposed to and about the mistreatment of Ottoman Armenians between 1894 and 1896 (4). Keçeyan writes the following about Aharonyan who is accepted as an Armenian national hero:

In [the works of] Avetis Aharonyan there is no miserable sorrow of those who yield. The sorrow that is endured by him and by his lovely population is not only true but also a sharp reality. He believes in a beautiful future. His thoughts are solid and certain, he believes that only being resistant to sorrow can help bring the liberation to the population (4).

Keçeyan defends the idea that the main topics in Aharonyan's stories stem from his personal experiences.

From his early youth and due to his circumstances, the author Avetis Aharonyan who has been ontologically cut off from his roots and has the willingness to witness the sorrows that had encircled him. In fact, as a migrant who has experienced the shock of being cut from his roots and of experiencing a cultural transformation, he carried the embers of an un-lived life, unestablished house and unrealized dream. But even with a light breeze the embers flare up and the past turns out to be the future (4).

The work mentions armed conflicts lived in the mountains of Eastern Anatolia. In each story, there is another bouncer (*fedai*) another hero. In her introduction of the book, Karakaşlı says that the author presents stories of the quest for liberty and rights which has continued for centuries in the author's land of Anatolian mountains and of life struggle fought in the extreme conditions.

Keçeyan tells the life of Aharonyan in the preface of the novel between the pages 7-34 with all its details in a manner appropriate for national heroes. Aharonyan was born in Iğdir province in a small village. His first education was given to him by the only educated person in the area, his mother. In the Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-1878, he was ten years old. He witnessed all the pain, migrations and lootings. After the peace agreement, he went to *Iğdir* Armenian school. Afterwards he met Armenian press organs such as *Nor-Dar (New Century)*, *Ardzaguank (Echo)*. As a result of the 61<sup>st</sup> article of Berlin Agreement, the intervention of

European powers to the internal affairs of Ottoman Empire increased. These developments encouraged the first Armenian national resistance (Keçeyan, 2001: 10-11). Aharonyan who, for the first time, saw Armenian militias told his reaction in Im *Guirke (My Book)* where he told his memoirs:

Here is our militia! It is like a fairy tale. They got bloody, complex and uncompleted like the sorrows that our nation has endured. Our mountains are victorious and unyielding. How many stones, how many mountains, how many valleys are left in Armenian land in the last forty years where the heroic heduk's<sup>14</sup> bones are not buried? Is there any field which has not been irrigated by their blood? (Keçeyan, 2001:11)

Aharonyan was sent by a wealthy patriot to Universities in Lausanne and Paris to complete his education between 1898 and 1903. He participated in national debates and established contacts with *Hincaks* (social democrat party which emerged from the resistance movement, *Hinçak*) and with Revolutionary Armenian Federation Western Branch (the leader of the national independence movement). Together with Ahmet Rıza, Prens Sabahattin and Young Turks, he played an active role in opposition group in the Ottoman Paris Congress. He settled in Tblisi in 1902. With the help of 1905 Russian revolution he sought to be the voice of Armenians. He thought that with the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, Armenian road to freedom opened (13-14). Armenian question came to international arena and Aharonyan played an active role in these efforts. In this period he was arrested for his stories in which he had mentioned the cruelties conducted by *Hamidiye Troops (Hamidiye Alayları)*.<sup>15</sup> He was detained for two years (18).

After his release, he settled in Europe. The Balkan wars started and Armenian question and the reforms of Ottomans about Armenia came to the agenda. In the first years of the First World War Armenian provinces were occupied by Russian forces and the Ottoman army entered in Tblisi (23). At the end of 1917, the national council of Caucasian Armenians was established and Aharonyan took the chair. He was the first Chairman of the National Council between May 30, 1918

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<sup>14</sup> Emphasis belongs to the writer. Heduk means Christian population which raise against Ottoman authority

<sup>15</sup> These are divisions composed of Kurdish tribes to tackle the problem of Armenian upsurge in 1800's. Further information is given in the analysis chapter.

and August 1, 1918).<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile with the collapse of Russian regime, Russia did not pose a threat to Ottomans. The Armenian migration started from *Van* and *Erzurum* to Caucassia. Aharonyan brought together the dispersed Armenians and actively worked in the organization, which sought to convert them to a nation-state (24). Their goal was to stop Ottomans and gain time until the victory of alliance forces (26). Keçeyan states “the divisions under the leadership of Union and Progress before realizing their dream of terminating Russian Armenia and Armenians the peace was declared after the German defeat” (26). Armenian republic declared its independence on May 28, 1918. Aharonyan as the leader of the delegation of the Armenian republic took the mission of spreading Armenian thesis to the world. When the Armenian Republic became part of the United Soviet Socialist Republics, Aharonyan settled in Marseille and died in 1948 (27).

#### **3.4.1.1.6. Giaour Elo**

Another work that has been analyzed is Baran Fundermann’s “*Giaour Elo*” (*Gavur Elo*) (1999) which was originally published in Marenostum series in 1999. The author tells historical events such *Hamidiye* troops which had been shared both by Armenian and Kurds. This work is the only exception among Armenian works since Fundermann is ethnically a Kurdish. The topic of the work is about Elo, who has been raised up of by a Kurdish leader.

The work where a real life story is told has a value both for oral history and for describing Armenian - Kurdish relations. The events took place in *Ölçülüköy* (previous name is *Wezinköy*) near *Tatvan*. Elo is the real hero of the work. The story starts with the undertaking of responsibility of Elo and his mother by Kurdish leader Neo in Hamidiye Troops. Elo’s father is killed by attacks of the troops. Although Elo grows up and becomes a Muslim and raises his children as Muslim, he is always called by the village community as *giaour*. The community constantly reminds his Christian – Armenian origin that makes him different from others. According to the novel, in order to remember his origin, the peasants call him *Fille*, a Kurdish slang word used to appeal Russians and Armenians.

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<sup>16</sup> <http://www.rulers.org/rula2.html>

Fundermann explains why he writes such a story under the title of “some important explanations”. He was born in the same village where Elo had lived. He completed the work in four years.

If one asks me why I have written such a story, I can say the following:  
It was a duty of mine as a child of a people who has been accomplice to the crime. The story would not heal the wounds but it can be considered as an important message to coming generations. In that context, it is pleasant for me to have a pinch of salt in the soup (1999:74).

#### **3.4.1.1.7. Who is knocking on the Door?**

Another work that is included in the list belongs to another representative of Armenian village literature, i.e., Kirkor Ceyhan. His novel, originally published in 1999, “*Who is knocking on the door?*” (*Kapıyı Kimler Çalıyor?*) (1999) narrates the exile of an Armenian family with the charge of sheltering a refugee in their home at the end of August. Ceyhan usually depicts Ottoman periods in his works. Specially, he tells the story of the years of mobilization, decisions of deportation and the exile (the Dispatched and Settlement Law in 1915) based on the memories transferred to him by his father.

In the novel, the family used to live on the banks of the *Kızılırmak* River and they were converted to Islam fearing for their lives. The events that took place on the way of exile to Der-es Sor in Syria are told by the author with a literary style. One year passes over the dispatch and settlement law. Ceyhan talks about his own families’ experiences. The hero of the novel is his father. The road of exile follows the route of *Zara, Koçasar, Erzurum, Sivas, Malatya, Urfa* and *Adıyaman*. When they are about to pass through the final destination of the exile, which will be explained under the title of “Exile” in chapter 4, Der Zor deserts in Syria, the southern front collapses in 1917. English army occupies Hallopi. The exile has to be stopped for this reason and the Armenians start to return Anatolia. Ceyhan (1926 *Zara* - 1999 Bonn), in his life has continuously migrated from one place to another until his death. Reflections of being an Anatolian Armenian, *İstanbul* Armenian and diaspora Armenian are observed in his works. He tells tragi-comic stories of families that hide fugitives of deportation and Armenians who are converted to Islam.

Furthermore, *Zara*, as a language, is very important for Ceyhan because he speaks *Zara*.<sup>17</sup> Karakaşlı underlines that Ceyhan, in his works had created a perfect combination of Turks, Armenian, Alevis and Sunnis long before the “invention of concepts like tolerance and mosaic” (AGOS, September 1,1999).

Ceyhan’s other novels called “*I Grown up with the Military Folk Songs*” (*Seferberlik Türküleriyle Büyüdüm*) and “*The God Shoed His Horse and Followed Us*” (*Atını Nalladı Felek Düştü Peşimize*) depicts his own life story, especially of *Zara*’s. *Zara* is especially important for Ceyhan: “I am witness to my time. In our time, the meaning of *Zara* was equal to Turkey. It was as such with all its richness. To know our past well is to save our future. That’s why I wanted to write all that I experienced (AGOS 181, 1 Ekim 1999).

Kirkor Ceyhan (1926 -1999) was born in *Zara*. He studied in *Gazi ve Cumhuriyet* primary schools in *Zara*. While he was studying in *Sivas* Secondary School, he had to leave his education due to hardships. He worked as an apprentice in a tailorshop. Then he settled in *İstanbul*. The mail friendship that he established with Kemal Tahir, while he was in prison in *Zara* in 1942, continued in *İstanbul*. He emigrated to Soviet Armenia in 1965. But he returned to Turkey after ten months. He opened a tailor shop in *Beyoğlu*. In 1980, he moved first to France and then to Germany in 1988 and passed away there.

#### **3.4.1.1.8. The World is Enough for All**

The last work that has been analyzed within the framework of Armenian works is Sarkis Çerkesyan’s “*The World is Enough for All*” (*Dünya Hepimize Yeter*) (2003) firstly published in the Marenostrom series in 2003. This is an autobiography which can be considered as an oral history. It translates all the events witnessed by Çerkesyan and his family with a modest language. In the preface prepared by Zarakolu (2003:5), he underlines the importance of the work for oral history. He

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<sup>17</sup> *Zara* is both a language and a town near Sivas. The language is a mix of Armenian, Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic and Persian

states that he does not conceive the work as an alternative to the traditional conception of history but as an important instrument for creating a counter history. The story of Çerkezyan that starts with the exile of 1915 continues with his birth in a camel barn on May 15, 1916. His memoirs reflect the 20<sup>th</sup> century Turkey (Gedik, 2003: 7). The work's importance for oral history stems from its presentation of exile and life struggle after the presentation.

Çerkezyan in his autobiography talks about his family, his return to Anatolia, his life struggle in *İstanbul*, twenty class military service, income tax, 6-7 events and his active life in Turkish Workers Party. The work is adorned with family photos.

Çerkezyan who earned his life as a carpenter had to leave his education in Getronagan due to hardships. After his return from military service in 1964, he settled down in *İstanbul*. He says that his political attitude is always for the left. Çerkezyan who was an active member of Turkish Workers Party served three times in different terms as a member of executive council in *Eminönü* sub-province. Before writing his work titled *This World is Enough for All*, he talks about his relationship to literature in an interview with Karakaşlı.

I have drawn a lesson from all that I have been through. I have never been ashamed but been proud of the works that I have produced. I have an enthusiasm for literature, I have poems in Armenian. If I have contentment, one day I would like to write my memoirs (Karakaşlı, 2000: 16).

### **3.4.1.2. Greek Literary Works**

#### **3.4.1.2.1. The Sons of Agha from the Islands to Bodrum**

The presentation of Greek literary works starts with the first work in *Table 1*, i.e. Yannis Manglis' *"The sons of Agha, from the Islands to Bodrum (Ağa'nın Çocukları Adalardan Bodrum'a) (1998)*. The work is translated from 1979 Athen's press to Turkish by Osman Bleda and published by *Belge* Publishing house within *Marenostrum* series in June 1998. The reply letter of Manglis to the letter written to him by Bleda asking permission for translation is in the appendix of the book. The author emphasizes that he wrote this book with full consciousness and that he is a member of Abdi İpekçi Turkish-Greek Freinship Association. With

reference to Atatürk and Venizelos, he describes Turkish-Greek friendship and cooperation relation as the relation between peace and welfare in the Balkans. He further states that it has been a big pleasure for him to translate the book. He hopes that the book would contribute to friendship (1998: 326).

The author Manglis was born in 1909 in Kalimnos (Twelve islands) island. He settled down in France to Le Havre in 1920s. After a while, he went back and worked in trade and sponge fishing ships for 23 years.

The work tells the story of a wealthy Greek family living in Kalimnos Island. The island was turkified in 1869 and its history changed. An Ottoman sub-governor appointed to Kalimnos Island but the concessions given to the island were reserved. The novel starts with the story of sharing the heritage of Iraklis Mandakas Agha by his children. Each child's life story and their relationship with their families are presented. These stories also include themes such as freedom, liberty, religion, Red Apple (*Kızıl Elma*)<sup>18</sup> and comments on the rule of Unions and Progress Party. Continuously, a life full of friendship and tolerance is emphasized until the involvement of imperialist Germans. The novel talks about the secession of Greece from Ottoman Empire in 1912 and about the losses and changing life stories of minorities which were intersected in *Bodrum* and in the Island in the beginning of 1920s.

#### **3.4.1.2.2. Farewell Anatolia**

Another work that has been analyzed within this study is Dido Sotiriou's "*Farewell Anatolia*" (*Benden Selam Söyle Anadolu'ya*) (*Matomena Homata- Kanlı Topraklar*) which won the 1982 prize of Abdi İpekçi Turkish-Greek friendship. Atilla Tokatlı translated the work from French to Turkish. *Alan* Publishing House does not specify the publication date of the work. Nonetheless, from the back cover of the book we learn that the original print date of the work is 1962 and it has been published 57 times in Greece and it was a bestseller then. The book published

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<sup>18</sup> It is used as a name of geographical location. There is no information about its specific location. Ziya Gokalp wrote a poem titled Red Apple in the journal Turkish Land and explained the term as an ideal country that the Turkish nation would reach in future. Nihat Atsız considers Red Apple as an instrument to realize Turkish ideal. M. H. Akansel, on the other hand, describes the term as a national moral that all Turks inherently possess. (Gökyay, January 1986: 9; February: 1986 )

seventeen times in Greece in 1982, it is translated into French, Russian and Roman in 1964, then translated to Turkish and Hungarian in 1970.

The novel as a documentary is based on the memoirs. It has quite literal and fluent language. Sotiriou narrates stories from Aegean costs, the peasants of Anatolia, the urban life full of sentiments.<sup>19</sup> The work tells the story of Manoli Aksiyotis in a literary manner. The novel based on a personal life story, narrates the story of Greek peasants living in Anatolia personalized in the identity of Aksiyotis. Manoli took place in the “*laborer battalion*” (*amele taburu*) between 1914 and 1918. Then, he became a soldier of Greek army during the War of Independence of Turkey and sought refuge to Greece. The novel ends with the Manoli’s refuge in Greece. Aksiyotis worked in dock. He involved in trade union movement and then he joined Greek national resistance army. Sotiriou created this work out of the memoirs written by Aksiyotis. She wrote this novel for the following purposes:

I weaved the texture of this novel with many witnesses. I realized this work to animate a world which is collapsed and which would never come back. So that the old people would not forget and young people see and learn all that happened in all its purity (5).

Born in *Aydin* in 1911, Sotiriou moved to Athens in 1922. Despite all the restrictions brought to her with the reason that girls should not study, she managed to become a scholar. Emigration, German occupation and her role in the underground press are other important instances in Sotiriou’s life.

Milas, underlining that the original title of the work is “*Bloody Lands*”, states that the work is translated into Turkish under the title “*Farewell Anatolia*” and has been published several times. The work which is dominated by the Marxist ideology takes place in the time of Balkan wars, the First World War and the Turkish Greek War (1919-1922). According to the novel, the interests of imperialist powers, mainly Germany and Italy are responsible for the war between Turkey and Greece. Turks and Greeks are like helpless puppets in their hands and that’s why they are innocent. The theme of Red Apple is also emphasized in this work. Nonetheless, there is a Turkish and Greek image which constantly shifts from the theme of friendship and enemy (Milas, 2000: 315). Themes such as laborer

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<sup>19</sup> <http://www.kurtulus-online.com/eskisayilar/b-yolunda21/ogrenelim.htm>

battalion, red apple and brotherhood are further examined in the following chapters.

There are four main sections of the novel. In the first section which is subtitled "Paradise life", the emphasis is on the common and peaceful life of Greeks and Turks. Despite this peaceful life, Greeks miss their mainland and feel themselves part of it. They consider themselves as slaves of Ottoman rulers. Some characters in the novel even take pride of killing Muslims.

Greeks are described of being very clever and industrious. Turks, on the other hand are mountain peasants and miserable people who do not know the difference between a doctor and a teacher (Sotiriou, 21). The peaceful environment gets tense with the Balkan wars of 1912. Young Turks get closer with Germans in this period. The title of the second part is "Laborer Battalions". During this period, the Ottoman Empire took part in the First World War and all minorities were called to arms. As the Turkish government did not trust in Christians, they are sent to special forces called "Laborer Battalions" without giving arms and uniform (57). According to the author all these decisions are under the German influence. Turks became the colony of Prussia. In this section, the escape of Manoli from "Laborer Battalions" and the events that took place after his escape are told. She also mentions about the deportation of Armenians, the implementations of the Progress and Union Party and the situation of Pontus Greeks. At the end of the section, after the end of war Manoli turns back to his village and prepare his land for cultivation. The quote "[h]e was not any longer afraid of Turks. Instead of changing our minds, we changed roles" (140) brings forth the themes of chapter three titled "Greeks are coming". In this chapter, Greek occupation and the war of independence is told. 'Sevres Agreement' and the war which never ends is told with the allegory of "little Asia military expedition in gangrene". As the alliance powers shifted their support from Greek government to Turkish government in *Ankara*, the Greek dreams about Anatolia have vanished. "The Big Disaster" is the title of chapter four. Greek army retreats from Afyonkarahisar. Greek soldiers are very cruel. Thievery, rape, grief, ruins and fires are the leftovers from the places left. *İzmir* is their last stop. Turks have started the final assault. Entente countries and Greece have left them

on their own. After hard days, they manage to escape to Greece.

#### 3.4.1.2.3. Our Courtyard and Loksandra

Maria Iordanidu's (1913 –1987) *"Our Courtyard" (Bizim Avlu) (1997)* and *"Loksandra" (2003)* are other analyzed works. Osman Bleda translated the former one in 1997 from its 1993 print in Athens and the work is published within *Marenostrum* series. Instead of the work titled *Loksandra, translated from 1963 Athen print in 1990* which emphasized the opposition between Turks and Greeks, this work emphasizes nostalgia, tolerance and a peaceful relations between Turks and Greeks. In *Loksandra*, Turks are considered out of the Greek community and they are the other which represents the state (Milas, 2000: 314). Iordanidu is an old lady who remembers her memories in her youth. She is bored of living in a flat and her memories from childhood keeps her attached to life. Everything is in rose for her. In Tatavla, today's neighborhood of *Kurtuluş*, she has a common happy life with Turks.

Perhaps children in my period were deprived of many things but there were large areas in their homes to move. There were more places even in the poor households of the period than today's flats in buildings. Then children have the streets. In Istanbul children gangs which are mostly made up of boys pass the borders of their neighborhoods and they would be out of sight for hours. Most of the time in the border of two external neighborhoods the races would mix and you would hear that the children speak an Esperanto combining Greek, Turkish, Hebrew and Armenian (1997:33).

Three consecutive works that are analyzed belong to Yorgo Andreadis. The first work is *"Tolika "Take Me Bacikam/Sister" (Tolika "Bacikam Al Beni)* (November 1999), the second is *"Those Who Have Secret Religion" (Gizli Din Taşıyanlar)* (August 1999, 2nd. Ed.), the third is *"Tamama, the Lost Girl of Pontus" (Tamama Pontus'un Yitik Kızı)* (August 1997, 2nd. Ed.). All three works are published in *Marenostrum* series of Belge Publishing House. He gives a historical account of the lives, roots and traditions of Pontus Greeks in the Black Sea through documents and pictures.

Yorgo Andreadis (1936) was born in Kalamaria in Greece where his family migrated from *Trabzon* via Batum in 1880 and where the migrants lived in Thessalonica in 1930. His father Kyriakos Andreadis was a member of the Pontus

National Council. Andreadis finished his studies in Thessalonica Anatolian College and then studied economics in Freiburg University in Germany. Thessalonica Anatolian College is a predecessor to historical *Merzifon* College (Yücel, 22/11/1998).<sup>20</sup>

The author focused on the history and culture of the Black Sea, especially to oral history studies. He earned Abdi İpekçi Turkish-Greek Friendship enterprise in 1993 with his work titled “*Tamama, the Lost Girl of Pontus*”. He became the honorary guest of *İzmir TÜYAP (fairs and exhibitions organization)* book fair during the *Kardak* crisis.<sup>21</sup> In the preface of *Tolika* the publisher states that Andreadis compiles the witnesses belonging to Anatolian history and transfers them to contemporary generations. He further argues that his ability to listen to the story of the other instead of reading the works unilaterally “enables us to understand what the people at the other side of the water are experiencing and feeling (November 1999: 1).

According to information given on web page of *Müdafaa-i Hukuk Journal*, Andreadis has visited the Black Sea region 49 times since 1960. His friendship and his warm relations with the people from this region led to the emergence of some conspiracy theories. The journal accuses him of secret and complex relationship to the Black Sea people. Furthermore, it is claimed that Andreadis has been supported by Greek government and he propagated for the Greeks with the help of his novels and his friendship in the region. The income of the books is left to a high school in *Tonya – Trabzon*, to the monastery in *Sumele – Maçka* and to the museum of *Foça* in *Foça – İzmir*. Journal claims that Turkish readers by paying to Andreadis’s works, help Greek propaganda.<sup>22</sup> Another conservative newspaper in the internet openly accuses Andreadis of being Greek’s secret

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<sup>20</sup> Yücel, E. (22/11/1998). “Brotherhood without borders and ‘Tamama’”, [http://www.turkishdailynews.com/tdn/past-art/11\\_22\\_98/art.htm](http://www.turkishdailynews.com/tdn/past-art/11_22_98/art.htm)

<sup>21</sup> *Kardak* is the name of two rocks in Aegean Sea. After a ship run grounded in these rocks, there were debates between Turkey and Greece about the sovereignty rights of these rocks. Two countries came to the brink of war when Greek army landed forces on these islands.

<sup>22</sup> [http://www.mudafai-hukuk.com.tr/arsiv/subat02\\_02.html](http://www.mudafai-hukuk.com.tr/arsiv/subat02_02.html)

service agent. (Mümtaz, 29/01/2002).<sup>23</sup> According to Yücel (22/11/1998), the negative reaction from the intellectuals in Black Sea Region is based on the claim that the book “insults our nation, distorts historical facts and serves the goals of a neighboring country”.

#### **3.4.1.2.4. Tolika, Take Me Bacikam/Sister**

The novel titled “*Tolika, Take Me Bacikam*” (*Tolika, Bacikam Al Beni*) (1997) is translated by Tanju İzbek from 1998 Greek print. It was published within *Marenostrum* series in November 1999. Kirya Sofia is the main character of the novel. She presently lives in one of Thessalonica’s suburbs called Evosmo. The subject is about her little sister that he has lost during the exile. She was born in *Yizigöl* town of *Trabzon* in 1914. Instead of story telling, the author tells the story of Turkish speaking Pontus people living in the Black Sea with a documentary style with lots of historical information (November 1999: 16).

The transfer of historical information starts with Balkan wars. According to the author Pontus people were never interested in war and they were living in brotherhood. Constitutional monarchy declared in 1908 recognized equal rights to all Ottoman *subjects (tebaa)*. However, this dolce vita ends with the siege of Russians. First they welcome Russians with a big pleasure and they told them that their century long independence dream has now come true. This happiness does not last long. They were recruited to “laborer battalions” during the First World War (54). They chose to form gangs and to provide Russian support instead of going to military in order to fight for freedom. Nonetheless, with the take over of *Trabzon* by Russians, the destiny of Pontus people has changed (48). Pontus Greeks, especially the ones who live in *Trabzon* established Pontus Assembly in 1916 in Batum. This assembly was abolished with the Bolshevik Revolution. The resistance in the Western Black Sea was defeated in 1918. This defeat was followed by the defeat in the Turkish war of independence, independence courts, “*Catastrophe of Little Asia*” (*Mikrasyatiki Katastrofi*) and finally with the mutual decision about the exchange of population in 1923.

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<sup>23</sup> Mümtaz, H. (29-01/2002). ““Pontia Dansı” nda İkinci Perde”<http://www.yenimesaj.com.tr/index.php?sayfa=yazarlar&haberno=1744&tarih=2002-01-29>

During this historical documentary account, he tells the story of how he lost his little sister in exile roads and how his family members disappeared one by one. There are two poems in the work written for Tolika (90-93). The work is an account of unjust behavior towards Pontus people and of land losses instead of an oral tale. The book is full of documents, pictures and maps. At the end of the book, there is an epilogue and a bibliography where he explains how he learned about Tolika's story. In a Thessalonica suburb populated mostly by immigrants, a student won a prize with his story titled "my roots". The author who is influenced from this story decides to further investigate the event. He finds Kirya Sofia and learns the story of his sister who has been missing for 76 years.

#### **3.4.1.2.5. Those Who Have Secret Religion**

The other work of Andreadis, which is analyzed in this study, is titled *Those Who Have Secret Religion (Gizli Din Taşıyanlar) (August 1999)*. Atilla Tuygan translates the work into Turkish from its 1995 print in Thessalonika. The work is a kind of antropological research rather than witness to history. The families living in Krumni and having secret religion are told. Their relation with Ottomans, their labor life in chrome mines, their relation with *Of* villages, life styles, cultures, rituals, beliefs are told. As in the previous one, the work is full of documents, pictures, maps and statistical data.

The work concentrates on the life of Molla Süleyman. The work is influenced from the tales of Aphroditi Andreadou who claims that she is the grand daughter from third generation of Molla Süleyman. Molla Süleyman lives in Krumni. Krumni is village of *Gümüshane (Argyroupoli)* province. The village population does not speak Turkish but *Laz*. The author claims that *Laz* that they speak is *Greek (Romeika)* (August 1999:13). Molla Süleyman who speaks Turkish is the contact person with the official authorities. According to the author, the conversion took place in the mid seventeenth century. Nonetheless, he claims that he could not get the exact information from the Turkish authorities (14).

The history of the region is given in the work. Episodes from the Christian period (A. D. 325), the Komnenos period (1260) and the Ottoman periods are told. Then,

the author presents the bureaucratic procedures and the hierarchical organization for the operation of chrome mines. He explains how the secret Christians lived a non-problematic life from 1700s until 1900s. Molla Suleyman turns out to be a Christian priest appointed by the *Trabzon* archbishop Dorotheos III (1764 – 1790). Then the author gives information about the daily life in Krumni such as traditions, customs, weddings, ceremonies, baptism, worship, etc. In the next phase, short stories from several people and families are told. The work tells about the events in the 19th century, the decision undertaken by the Ottoman state and the influence of these decisions on Pontus people. Secret Christians who were in ecstasy with the *Islahat Reformations* (1876) declare their religion with a document titled *Epitropikon (wardship)* dated 15 July 1857 (August 1999: 75). As the official authorities have been accused of being crooks and have deceived them, Pontus people have hard time to be recognized as genuine Christians. They were at ease with the recognition of their worship freedom by Young Turks. Nonetheless, with the First World War, things got worse once again.

In the last page of the book the author mentions about his goal to write this work:

If this book helps you think about all these people who suffered a lot, I will be happy. Even if I have managed to make several remarks, this is enough for me. ... I have accomplished my duty in memory of all those people who I spoke with (August 1999:93).

#### **3.4.1.2.6. Tamama, The Lost Girl of Pontus**

The last work that is analyzed is from Yorgo Andreadis who produced stories from the real life stories of Pontus Greeks. He wrote "*Tamama, The Lost Girl of Pontus*" (*Tamama Pontus'un Yitik Kızı*) (1997). The work was translated in Turkish from 1993 Greek print by Ragıp Zarakolu. Zarakolu emphasizes that the desire of conquest by the leaders of the Union and Progress Party matched with the desire of German imperialists led to the loss of three million people in Anatolia from different religious and ethnic groups as a result of migrations, deportations and war. Due to the presence of a continuous war, many families like the one of Tamama are shattered (Zarakolu, 1997: 6). However, Zarakolu ignores that wars that were made to sustain the integrity of the empire in these chaotic years. This work like the other works of Andreadis is based on a true story. In the novel, it is

stated that the person who are mentioned are real and that the work is dedicated to international peace (1997: 7). According to the web page of Kurtuluş Journal, Andreadis narrates his grand mothers' real story.<sup>24</sup>

The novel is the tragic story of Tamama (her Turkish name is Raife Oktay) who lived between 1908 and 1992. Tamama was born in *Espiye* located between *Trabzon* and *Giresun*. She is the last child of Papayiannis who is the priest of the town and his wife, Kyriaki. The priest wants a son. After two girls, as the sex of last one who was born in 1909 is again a girl, the priest gives his daughter the name of Tamama which means "enough" in Turkish (1997: 15).

Pontus Greeks in *Giresun* region are ordered to move to *Sivas* to prevent their support to Russian army. Parents of Tamama die on the way. Tamama and her sisters beg on the streets in *Sivas*. Tamama meets with the daughter of Major Mustafa, Ayşe. She agrees to stay with this family with her own will. Major Mustafa presents her as a cousin of Ayşe. The other members of the family do not know the real identity of Tamama who took the Turkish name Raife. Tamama never marries and becomes an aunt to the daughters of Ayşe who knows her as "*cici anne*" (*foster mother*), someone like godmother. After many years, Tamama becomes very sick and unconsciously starts to speak Greek. Daughters of Ayşe help her find her real family.

After long efforts she accidentally establishes a contact with her sisters living in Greece. The fiction and the story of the work are based mainly on this subject. The childhood memories of Tamama, the life in Pontus, struggles for independence and the war of independence and exchange of population are some subjects which are told in the same historical line that Andreadis follows in his stories.

Milas (2000: 321) determines the enormous destruction of the war behind the backstage of the novel. Milas further argues that despite all negative remarks about Turks such as "Turks would not be at ease without killing us all", Zarakolu

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<sup>24</sup> "Anadolu'da Halkların Kardeşliği", <http://www.kurtulus-online.com/eskisayilar/b-yolunda21/ogrenelim.htm>

was loyal to the excerpt in translation. This work, compared to his other works, has been written in a more literary style. At the end of the novel, one finds the pictures of Tamama. The novel is written in a documentary style.

As in his other works, at the end of this novel too Andreadis emphasizes friendship and brotherhood of people:

During the storms of war, we shall not forget countless unnamed people who have not ignored but resisted the pain that their human-brothers have suffered. The friendship between people can be established on the greatness and virtue of such individuals, only in this case it can have a solid basis. THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLE which is the guarantee of Peace and Friendship in the world (Andreadis, 1997:110).\*

#### **3.4.1.2.7. The Memoirs of a Captive**

Another work that is analyzed is Stratis Dukas' *"The Memoirs of a Captive"* (*Bir Esirin Anıları*) (2003). The work which was published for the 18th time in 1987 in Athens has been translated in Turkish by Osman Bleda in 2003. The book firstly printed in 1928. It has been published by *Belge* Publishing House within *Marenostrum* series in April 2003. The book is dedicated to the common martyrs of the people of the world. The publisher states that the work represents contemporary Greek literature. He further states that the work would contribute to our thinking with empathy. He says that their goal was to put ourselves in place of the people who are seen as enemies. The work is a short narrative of the days that the Greeks call *"Little Asia Disaster"* and Turks, *"Victory"* (2003:1). The work of Dukas is very well known in Greece. He tells the story of a Greek soldier who was detained in Anatolia. The work which has a simple narrative attributes both negative and positive images to the Turks. Turks who are good are naive and uncultured. Nonetheless, the theme of pain is more dominant in the work (Milas; 2000: 314).

The work starts with the time the Greeks call *'Izmir disaster'*. The hero of the novel has been captivated by Turkish soldiers while he was waiting with his family in *Izmir* harbor to go to Greece. The captives are forced to walk a long distance. On

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\* Emphasis is in original.

the way happen quite a number of events such as thirst, hunger, insults, local people who want to take revenge, and so on. When he arrives in the town *Ödemiş*, he runs away with his friend. They hide and live in caves for four months. Afterwards, they decide to act like Turks. They separate from each other. One of them decides to go to *Aydın*, the other to *Tire*. They decide to meet in *Tire* after two months. Claiming that he is a shepherd, he asks a job from *yörük* (Turkish nomads). He starts to work in the farm of *Hacı (Pilgrim) Mehmet* as a shepherd. As he is a blond with blue eyes, he tells them that he is from Kosovo and that he migrated to Turkey from Macedonia.

The people adore him because of his diligence. He acts like a Muslim. The *hacı* that he works with, tells him that a foreigner who pretends to be Turkish has been seized and hanged in *Tire*. He understood that he lost his friend and he acts more cautiously. *Hacı* wants him to meet one of his cousins and to marry her. He moves from the farm with an excuse. He goes to *Tire* and gets on an Arab ship which would go from *İzmir* to *İstanbul*. He informs the crew about his identity near *Midilli* Island and he gets off in this island.

In the section titled “the story of the story” added to the end of the novel, the author reveals how he wrote this novel. The author goes to *Stupi*, a village of immigrants near *Ekaterini* and stays there from September to December 1928. During a chat in the coffee house of the village someone who escaped from Anatolia by acting like a Turk comes to the coffee house and tells his story. The author writes down the tale of the person. He describes him as “Turkofonos like the others but an oriental storyteller! He was like playing solo violin for me” and takes his autograph. His name is *Nikolas Kazakoğlu*. When the author turns back to *Thessalonica* he prepares the work for publication. While the story was not completely finished, he published the first version in 1929. The book was reprinted in 1932. The author paid another visit to the village in 1930 and he left some blank papers to *Nikolas* asking him to write his story. Years later in 1933-34 *Nikolas* left the scripts to the author. The author finished the missing parts of the story and published the work for the third time. The author donated the scripts written by *Nikolas* to *Kerkira* library (2003: 77-79).

#### 3.4.1.2.8. Moscow Selim

“*Moscow Selim*” (*Moskof Selim*) (1994) was printed in March 1994 from Marenostrum series of *Belge* Publishing house. The book is originally published in *Estia* Journal in 1895. Vizyinos, as seen his biography in below, is a philosopher, scholar and a poet. Osman Bleda has translated the work in Turkish. Vizyinos who is from Trakya grows up in *İstanbul*. He finishes *Heybeliada Religious School* and he studies philosophy in Germany. He works as a teacher. Vizyinos who is mostly known by his poems has six stories. One of these stories *Moscow Selim* is an impression from the days that the Turks and the Greeks lived together. The impact of the horrendous events in the last period of the Ottoman Empire over the lives of the Greek is told. The story occasionally takes place in *İstanbul*. Vizyinos is one of the founders of the Greek Contemporary Literature and he describes the relation between individuals and the nature with a great talent in a lively *katharevousa* (formal Greek). He also describes the village life with not only fatalist but also the surrealist elements.

Vizyinos, a short story writer and poet is born in Vyzo (Vizyi) located in Eastern Thrace. He took his pen name from this place. His real name was Georgios Syrmas. His family sent him to *İstanbul* in 1860 to work with his uncle tailor shop. After the dead of his uncle, the Cypriot merchant Yiangos Georgiodis took him under his aegis. Then he introduced the boy to Sophronious II, the archbishop of Cyprus. He supervised the young boy and Vizyinos became a psalter in Cyprus from 1868 to 1872. In 1872, he began to study in the Chalki Theological Seminary in *İstanbul*. In 1873, he got a Georgios Zarifis scholarship and went to Athens to study philosophy where he made his first appearance in the world of literature *Poetica Protolea* (Juvenile Poems). It won a prize in 1874. Then Vizyinos went to Germany for further study in philosophy. He received his doctorate with a thesis on “Children’s play with reference to psychology and education” (1881). Meanwhile, he continued to write his literary works. In 1881, he visited Samakovo in Thrace. This visit inspired him to write to story (*Moskow Selim*) which was first

published in *Estia* Journal in 1895. After several literary works, in 1892, he was committed to the Dromokaiteion hospital where he died in 1896.<sup>25</sup>

The novel takes place in one of the villages of Eastern Thrace. A news reporter, the third person, tells the story. *Moscow Selim* is described in the novel as a Turkish man with good heart but with bizarre attitudes. He is so bizarre that he tells his story to a Christian Greek, i.e. to a reporter. The reporter first thinks that he is a Russian who is remained in this village after the war. He is a harmless mad person who is waiting for the days that the Russians would capture the Ottoman lands. The peasants see him as a traitor. The reporter could not get why Selim had been denying his national identity until he learned his story. Selim is the son of a rich men. When the war breaks out, he joins the army to save the life of his brother who is forced to join the army, and to be the favorite son of his father. However, his mother has raised him like a sensitive girl. He wonders why his father does not like him. If he joins the army he would be a real man and he would gain the love of this father.

He was injured in *Plevne* war and he was held as a prisoner of war by Russians. Russians treated him well. Selim thinks that these places can be left to Russians as the land of the sultan is big and he can continue his magnificent life in *İstanbul*, in Baghdad and Damascus. His words show his disappointment with the Ottoman State. When the war is over, the Ottoman soldiers turn back to *İstanbul* in miserable conditions. Selim suffers quite a lot on the way. He cannot find a place to live or work in *İstanbul*. While he lies on the ground, people who pass by think that he is begging and degrading the State, pull out the stripes of his uniform. He gets other bad news. His families' property has been confiscated. His family has joined a convoy of people to go to *İstanbul* with the fear of Russian occupation. He loses his children and wife due to severe weather conditions.

The author mentions the issue of *Red Apple (Kızıl Elma)*. Red Apple is the genuine territory of the Turks and the Turks don't consider European territory as their own. Milas argues that the author let the character Selim speak the words

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<sup>25</sup> <http://www.thesaurus.duth.gr/English/links/vizynos-html>

that the Greeks want to hear. Selim articulates the Greek Megalo Idea. According to the Greeks Red Apple is Asia. Therefore Anatolia and Western European lands do not belong to Turks. The idea that the sultan should live either in Baghdad or Damascus, is not in vain (2000: 299). Anyhow Montenegro, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria and Bosnia Herzegovina have already been lost. The author let the reporter tell the following words in order to support his ideas on Red Apple: “Almost everywhere, these honest Turks captured these lands again and again by fighting, they forced the people to yield and each time they had to retreat from these lands by the involvement of Europe and of course by Russia. If it were the case then it should not be surprising that a person like Selim thought that *Khalife* would move his seat either to Damascus or to Baghdad when the determined time in destiny came” (2003: 58). Selim is now about to die. The reporter pays him a visit. Selim is sick because he has learned that the Russians invaded once again Ottoman lands. When the reporter tells him that this news is not true, Selim dies in peace praying to Allah. A Turk has died like a Turk though he is not supported by other Turks and found friendship from Russians and Christians.

Milas states that Vizyinos depicts an image of Turkish people who are culturally backward and who are the enemies of Greeks. Nonetheless, he also mentions that there were warm friendships between these two races. The author reflects the fanaticism that his Greek readers want to hear but that this fanaticism is reciprocal. According to Milas, “the author is aware of the fact that the prejudices are reciprocal” (2000: 299).

#### **3.4.1.2.9. Story of a Town in Crete**

The last book that is analyzed from Greek books is Pandalis Prevelakis (1909 – 1986) “*Story of a Town in Crete*” (*Girit'te Bir Şehrin Hikayesi*) (1997) translated from Greek print in 1997 in Turkish by Osman Bleda. The work was published in the Marenoustrum series of *Belge* Publishing House in 1997. The book is originally published in 1938. The hero of the book is a town. The story takes place in *Rethemno* (with its current name, *Rethimnon*) which is a small town in Northern Crete with a population of 7,000-8,000. The author was born in Rethemno in 1909. He studied art history in Athens and Paris Universities.

He presents tales from the common life of Turks and Greeks which concluded with the exchange of populations. Unlike the negative Turkish image depicted in other analyzed books, in this book, Turks are presented as clean and kind people. The only difference between Greeks and Turks is on the color of the scarf that they attach on their head. "When they don't wear red fez, Greeks (because of their mourning to their captivity by the Ottomans) attach a black scarf and Turks a white one" (Prevelakis, 1997: 17). While the author uses positive words for Turks, the story of wearing black and white scarf represents differences and antagonisms between communities.

The author tells the story of the arrival of Turks to the island. Turks captured Kyrete from Venetians three hundred years ago. There were clashes with the local population after the capture of the island. The revolt of 1770 has been suppressed. In 1821, revolts occurred in Mora and Rumeli and according to the author; these places were saved from slavery. The author changes his discourse about the peaceful life that they shared with Turks and he states that "despite all these bloody and stubborn resistances, from one generation to another Turks have forgotten that they have arrived to these lands without invitation and after so many years of settlement, they considered and loved the island as their home land" (1997:51). Then, he emphasizes once again friendship: "we didn't see Muslims as an enemy despite all the provocative words of our elders who carry unhealed injuries of the war on their body as the love developed between the young people who were born after 1990 and the Turks" (51).

As a result of the expulsion of Greek army from *İzmir*, Greek immigrants come to the island. These immigrants have a hard time to adapt themselves to new conditions in this new area. These people who have been used to fishing in inland seas have had difficulties to sustain their lives in Crete. Then, they adapt tools for fishing that they have used in *Çeşme* and *Ayvalık* to the open seas of Crete.

Even the mosques are used to settle the immigrants coming from *İzmir* after the seizure of *İzmir* by the Turkish army. Venizelos and Kemal agree on the exchange of population for sake of peace between the "two races". Muslims and Greeks have a hard time to accept this fact. The author describes the situation with the

allegory of “a married couple” who have forgotten that they have fought but found the priest in front of them for divorce (51).

Ships are rented to carry Turks with the population of more than fifty thousand. People who are very sad have a hard time to decide what to take with them. One man pulls shutters out of his window to keep it as a memory. Some Turks also pull doors and wooden ornaments out of their houses. Immigrants who are waiting to settle in their houses assaulted them fearing that they would destroy everything. The events spread out but life turns to normal after Turks leave the island.

### **3.4.2. Conclusion**

In this chapter, 20 out of 29 Armenian and Greek minority literary works have been presented according to their authors, subjects and their short reviews. Through the presentation of the purpose of this analysis, Step I “know your data” is concluded. In the following chapters, the leading discourses, as seen in *Figure 5*, are presented under three categories: The late Ottoman Period, The Young Turkish Republic Period, and Ethnic Identity. Each of them is evaluated within a chapter and leading discourses emerging from the Armenian and Greek works are comparatively interpreted. The categories and discourses which come for out of the genealogical reading are summarized in the below figure. A multitude of subtitles and themes which emerge from this reading are cited in the chapters of analysis.

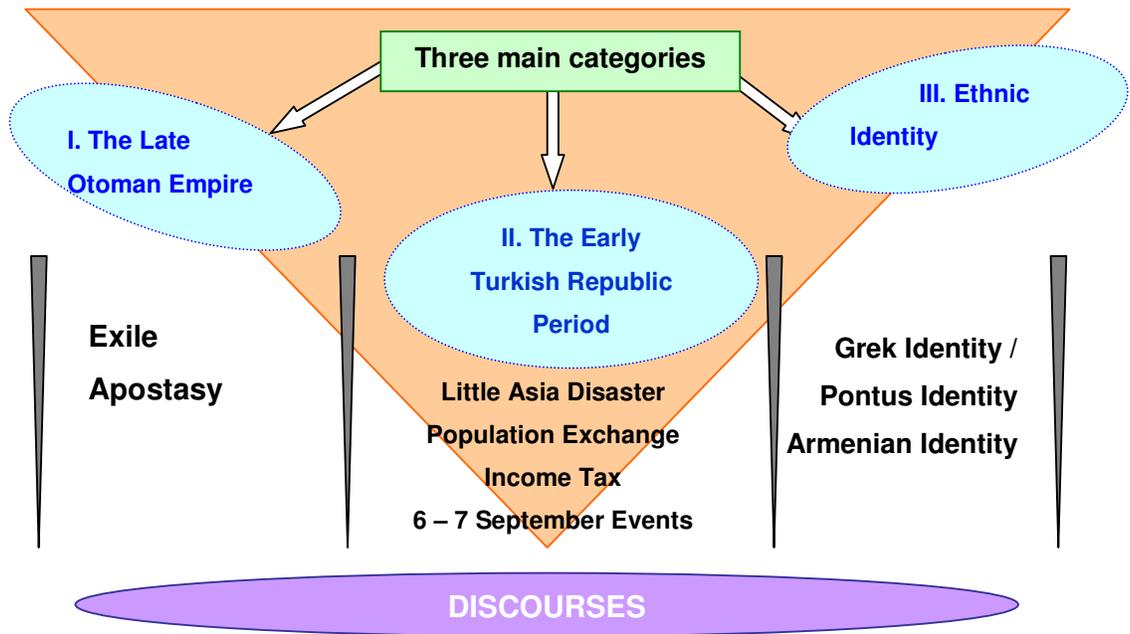


Figure 5: Discourses

After the examination of each work discourses are culminated in three main groups as seen in the figure. In each discourse there is more than one theme. For instance under the discourse of exile, the themes of reverse migration and adoption emerge. Under these themes there are several sub themes such as the German influence and the fear of death. In the analysis chapter, silences and absences, the transitions and reciprocal relations between discourses are investigated. Furthermore, the manner in which dominant discourses have been appropriated and internalized is the concern of analysis. Referring to Hall's concept of ideology of domesticity, the analysis seeks to discover how the discourse becomes accepted and/or rejected.

From the summaries of the works given in this chapter one can conclude that more specific information is given in Armenian works about authors and the background of events. Biographies of Armenian authors are presented in detail. This systematic transfer of data can be attributed to the fact that the Armenian community is both more organized and populated than Greek community. Furthermore, literary works accomplish an important mission through "wide complementarily of social communication" (Deutsch, 1966: 27). The memory of

the community, which is bound to be forgotten, due to the difference between generations is refreshed through these works. The community is held together through new information and old memories. This way, the ethnic attachment between community members is strengthened.

The Greek population decreased significantly especially after 6-7 September events in *İstanbul*. The Greek population, which consists of about 2000 people live an isolated life in close connection with Greece. In the works, the periods which are considered by Turks as the war of independence and national victory and by Greeks little Asia disaster and *İzmir* disaster are constantly referred in the works. Therefore, some of these literary works had a functional role in assisting the foundation of discourse in line with the process of Greek nationalism. Regrets about the history and brotherhood are some frequently mentioned themes.

In both groups, the emphasis on ethnic identity is presented with a nationalistic discourse. Almost all works are full of pictures, documents and maps. These minority works which mostly present biographies create stories from living witnesses and claim to present an oral history. They mostly describe the effects of the political decision taken by Turks on their lives and the pains that they have endured. Still, nostalgia for their lives in brotherhood and peace is frequently mentioned.

To conclude, the effort to present works of minority literature in this chapter is to summarize these works and to better recognize the period in which they were written. The endeavor in this chapter is to give the context of the work and the background of the author. On the basis of knowledge systems (episteme) that are derived through determining leading ethnic identity and Turkish images and analyzing the social context as depicted in examined literary works (our archive), the study seeks to reach to some systems of truth and modalities of power. Toprak (cf. 2003:131), following Gadamer's motto that 'understanding depends on the spiritual and historical horizon of the interpreter', I attempted to conduct a productive interpretation merely expressing the interpretation of what is transmitted or not transmitted without attempting to be sympathetic or explanatory. In the process of interpreting the emerging themes, my concern is to

present what I understood and conclude rather than substantiating the truth or fiction with reference to historical facts. While Gadamer argues that the meaning of the text is independent of the author, time and place, Dilthey emphasizes that the text is not independent of the period in which it is written (Toprak, 2003: 124). No matter which method of analysis the interpreter uses, s/he reinterprets the text. This means that the same text can have different meanings for different people. In the process of interpreting the selected works, in order to escape from arbitrariness, frequent references are given to historical accounts. I tried to present the historical background of the period in order to help readers to understand “the spirit of the period” and judge the validity and reliability of my comments and interpretations.

## CHAPTER 4

### LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE PERIOD

The leading discourses in the literary works of the Armenians and in the works of the Anatolian Greeks have been comparatively analyzed in this chapter. In the second chapter, through which the theoretical framework of the study has been established, the academic literature about ethnic identities and nationalism has been searched. In the third chapter, in which the research method benefited has been explained, it has also been emphasized that the method of discourse analysis has been used. The method of analysis explained in the third chapter would be applied on the subject matters of the exile and the apostasy since they are the two basic leading discourses in this chapter. Again in the third chapter, the criteria used for the selection of the literary works, the names, the subject matters and the authors of the works have been enlisted in addition to providing the list of the periods covered by the works. By doing so, the literary works considered as the unit of analysis, in other words the data of analysis, i.e. archives, have been introduced and the background determining the borders of the research has been determined as well.

The hypothesis is to indicate the self- perceptions of the ethnic and religious minorities as the Turks being “other”, in other words, to describe how they position themselves as opposed to the Turkish identity. In order to support this hypothesis, the leading subject matters in the literary works have been analyzed under certain themes, and the discourses constituted by the interrelated subjects have been determined. In the first chapter, two basic discourses have been founded: the exile and the apostasy.

These analysis chapters would demonstrate, which discourses have been the leading ones through history in addition to showing whether or not the ethnic identities constructed in due time construct stable and continuous discourses to position themselves. Following the research steps stated in the methodology chapter, in the chapters dealing with the Late Ottoman Empire, the Early

Republican periods and the Ethnic Identities, it has been looked for the evidences of an inter-relationship between the discourses in addition to the absences and the silences of the discourses in order to determine stable and continuous resistances and the counter-discourses. Through this method, the process of the identity formation has been examined as “an ongoing process rather than as snapshots of the web” (Step 3 in Kendall & Wickman, Step 8 Carabine). In this endeavor, the historical background of the events has been examined. The role of the interpreter in this analysis is, as it has been stated before, to make a contribution to the academic literature by putting discourses into a meaningful state, and hence forming a different interpretation.

The exile of the Armenian<sup>1</sup> people as a result of the 1915<sup>2</sup> decision of the Forced Emigration (*Tehcir, the Law of Dispatched and Location*) and the sending of the Pontus Greeks towards the inner parts of the Anatolia during the Russian occupation of *Trabzon* have been narrated in the literary works. In the works considering the Anatolian Greeks, the population exchange has seen taken as a

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<sup>1</sup> The words of exile, forced emigration and forced internal migration are interchangeably used. The Dictionary of the Institution of Turkish Language explains the original Arabic word of “tehcir” (forced emigration) as “forcing people to emigrate, to cause someone to emigrate”. Besides, “tehcir etmek” (to force someone to emigrate) refers “to force people to move away from some place, or to banish them from some place”. It originally comes from the Arabic word of “hecera” is a four letter verbal noun referring to “immigration, emigration”. For that reason, some researchers quote that it also has the meaning of deportation. It is stressed that the event includes the meaning of “getting rid of a harmful group of people” ([www.ermeniteroru.8m.com](http://www.ermeniteroru.8m.com)). The word was identified with genocide in studies about the Armenian problem since it refers to different meanings. Yerasimos calls this situation as the conflict of history and law in addition to defining it as the transformation and degeneration of the term genocide, which is an international law term, in time. The mission of the law is to judge, however, the duty of the history is to explain. For such reasons, law can use all the data of history in order to reach the reality but this necessitates an independent recording of the history. On the contrary, recording of history can not utilize the terms of law, its purpose is to write an independent history without carrying anxieties relating to law. Due to these reasons, Yerasimos explains that the word of genocide is an anachronism. Confusing between the words of the empire and the nation-state, to explain the former with the term nation-state is a significant example of anachronism. (2002:11). Akçam, on the other hand, underlines that the meanings of the words massacre and genocide are different from each other. He states that he takes emigration in 1915 as the destruction of a certain group of people. He explains that he uses the word genocide interchangeably with the words massacre and mistreatment since the word of massacre has a rather local and regional meaning. Timur (2001: 98) also states that the word genocide is an invented term for the purpose of defining “doing away with totally”, holocaust by the Nazi Germany of the Second World War. Genocide Convention was accepted on December 9, 1948 by the United Nations. European Union accepted the Armenian emigration as genocide in its gathering dated as on June 18, 1987. In order for not meeting with such confusions, we preferred the term “exile” which is used by Justin Mac Carthy to explain this migration which was the cause of many people’s death.

<sup>2</sup> “The decision to dispatch the Armenian people to Musul, Zor, Hallopi and to some parts of Syria because of committing harmful acts such as cooperating with the enemy, killing innocent people and causing rebellion, was taken after the note of Council of Ministers dated May 13, 1331 and numbered as 270” with the document numbered as 163 and by the reasons of 16 B. 1330 (May 30, 1915). The document taken from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives is provided in the appendixes (Appendix 1).

subject matter rather than the issue of exile. That discourse is analyzed in the following chapter. Our aim is not to explain what exile is or not to find out whether exile is an issue of migration or genocide. Rather than that, considering literary works, our aim is to determine how the Armenian and the Anatolian Greeks position themselves vis a vis Turkish identity.

Both ethnic groups have got quite hard times during the process of exile. The discourses of being banished in addition to losing the original place of living are common for both of the groups. The themes of longing for the original land of living and the past and lamenting for the ones lost in the pathways of exile were common as well. The issue of adopted children is among other common themes supporting the discourse of exile. It is stated that the ordinary Turkish people helped ethnic groups facing this process. Besides, it is claimed that The Party of Union and Progress cooperating with Germans had the responsibility in this decision. Official authorities who have the power of representing the state such as soldiers, gendarme and local governors were perceived as the “enemy” or as the “tormentor”. In addition to these, the changing of the direction of emigration towards inner parts of the Anatolia, to the opposite way, is another subject matter mostly narrated in the Armenian literary works. The people who were sent to Der-es Sor<sup>3</sup> Syrian Deserts, following the loss of Hallopi after the First World War (1918) either stayed in Syria or they preferred coming back to *İzmir*. The population of Anatolian Greeks, except for the ones living in *İstanbul* and *İzmir*, was to say a farewell to the Anatolian land forever as a result of the population exchange.

#### **4.1. Exile: “Who knows where our death body rests!”\***

In the Anatolian Greek and the Armenian literary works stressing the discourse of exile, the following themes have been stressed; the events taking place during the

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<sup>3</sup> Ceyhan names the Syrian Zor Desert as *Der Zor* which is named as *Der-es Sor* by Çerkezyan. For the purpose of being loyal to the works, the names of the places are given as they are used. The name of the city is stated as *Deir es Zor* in the Internet site of <http://atlasgeo.span.ch/htmlg/Syrie.htm>.

\* It was taken from the work of *Who is Knocking on the Door* by Kirkor Ceyhan. *Kim bilir ki nerde kalır ölümüz.*

exile process, lost people, children losing their parents and going back to inner parts of the Anatolia after the exile process. For the discourse of the exile, the works used in the analysis are the Andreadis's works of *Tamama* and *Tolika*, Çerkezyan's work of *The World is Enough for All*, Ceyhan's work of *Who is Knocking on the Door*, Fundermann's work of *Giaour Elo* and Satiriou's work of *Farewell Anatolia*. Before concentrating on these works, a short history has been provided in order to explain the reasons for deciding to send Pontus people to the inner parts of the Anatolia as exiles.

By the declaration of the Firman of *Tanzimat* and the declaration of the Second Constitutional Government following the Firman, the Pontus Greeks like the other Christian peoples had gained certain rights. According to Nacracas (2003), these reforms provided the liberty of migrating to other regions and the liberty of opening their own schools. These schools "had turned into the centers of constructing the consciousness of new Greek national identity in addition to imposing irredentist national ideology" (190).<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, the reason for the conflicts in the region was the placement of some of the Turkish people living in the Balkan Peninsula in this region as emigrants (Albayrak, 2003: 250; Yerasimos). This was among the most significant issues resulting in a conflict between the Turkish people and the Anatolian Greeks. Muslim Macedonians who had been driven away by Christians were settled in the territory where the Pontus Greeks lived. After living in peace for a while, the Pontus Greeks raised up against Turkish population due to the occupation of the Russian army. Nevertheless, existing political situation was changed because of the occupation of *Trabzon* by Russian army on April 18, 1916. The Ottomans have had serious losses. In this process, for taking the revenge of emigration and for the sake of establishing the independent Armenian State, "the Armenians living in various countries of the world... were forming voluntary units and sending them to clean up the Eastern Anatolia from the Turkish people" (Shaw & Shaw, 1983:387). Taking the advantage of this situation,

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<sup>4</sup> Andreadis, the author of the works about Pontus Greek, finished the Anatolian College in Thessalonika that was established as an extension of the historical College of Merzifon.

the Russian army did not refuse the Armenian aid in spite of the fact that Russia did not want the establishment of an independent Armenian state. According to the Treaty of Syces Picos, an entry that was put by them assumes giving the region of Cilicia to the French forces, not the Armenians (387).

Trying to open a separate front in the area behind the front lines, the Russians supported the Pontus guerilla forces in the region of *Samsun*. According to Nacracas, the Russian support, the nationalist greed of Germanos Karavangelis who was the *Amasya* metropolitan, and the rebellions in *Bafra* and *Samsun* are the biggest events resulting in the suffering of the Turkish and Hellenic populations (217). With the Russian support, Pontus Greeks struggled for the independence, first they captured the city government of *Trabzon* and then they engaged in activities to establish the independent Pontus state in 1917 under the leadership of K. Konstandinis. On January 22, 1918 they expressed that they want to declare their independence in Marseille. However, when the Russians withdrawn as a result of 1917 Russian Revolution, the armed units of Pontus Greeks were weakened (Nacracas, 2003: 217).

The Ottoman government transferred the Pontian people living in *Giresun* to *Sivas* due to their support of Russian occupation in 1916 as well as their increasing anxiety of facing more serious troubles. Moreover, their villages were destroyed as a result of ongoing conflicts between Turkish and Pontian guerillas. The Pontus Greeks population coming back later was sent to Greece as a result of Exchange (Albayrak: 2003, 258).

Literary works about the Pontus Greeks narrate the painful process of exile, the lost lands, fellows and the families. The main story, as has been mentioned in the methodology chapter in Yorgo Andreadis' *Tamama*<sup>5</sup> is the story of a seven-year-old girl who has two different names, Raife in Turkish and Tamama in Greek language, and who has become a refugee and began to live with a Turkish family after loosing her original family in the pathway of exile. For this reason, she lost the traces of her family who were still alive. Passing years, she could not any

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<sup>5</sup> For information about the work based on the true-life story see he methodology chapter.

longer keep her secret and her identity, and tried to find her family. Andreadis' other novel *Tolika*, which considers exile, has been analyzed here.

In *Tamama*, Vehbi Pasha who represents the state as being the person responsible of the migration decision has been mentioned. The author did not believe in the sincerity of Pasha although he was kindly listening to Greek religious men complaining about the guerillas. The author says that: "he was either hypocritical or he did not really have the power to control the created chaos". According to the author, the positive behavior of Vehbi Pasha, the authority of the region, had some other intention; he was trying to protect Muslim people living in the region from the actions of Eastern Pontus guerillas. By stating that, the author who expresses the cruelty of Muslims throughout the novel, implicitly accepts the existence of the Greek guerilla and their torturing of the Muslim villagers.

According to the author's claim, by the strategy of gaining time, Vehbi Pasha was thinking about applying the "White Plan" which he prepared by the help of his German advisors. For security concerns, this plan "assumed that all the Christian people living on the Russian front should be moved back about 50 kilometers from the front. According to plan, the Russians are the Orthodox Christians so; the existence of Christian people in the front line was creating a security problem" (Andreadis, 1997: 60).

The years between 1916 and 1918 is defined as the "bloody years" in *Tolika*, one of the works dealing with this period. None of the young men living in the village wanted to become a soldier and they hide in the mountains since they would have been executed if they had been caught (Andreadis, 1999b: 41). The author states that in April 1916, Enver Pasha ordered villagers to hand over the deserters, Later on,

In 1916, November 16, with Germans directions, Unionists applied a strong regime of military despotism. "In this hard winter, exiling all the Christian people of Evksino Pontus, they ignored their death from hunger, by doing so their names were proven innocent... The Party of Union and Progress began to formulate the slogan of "United language, united religion, united people" as "Turkey belongs to Turks" any more... The soldiers in the country had gone crazy...Enver and Talat Pashas gave the the following order in December 16, 1916: Only men between the ages of 16 and 60 living in the cities would be killed and the rest of Christian population would

be extirpated from this territory, they would be exiled by using the method of massacre if necessary (Andreadis, 1999b: 41).

In 1878, in the Berlin Congress, the Ottoman Empire lost a significant amount of land in Europe. At the same time, its financial bankruptcy was accepted; as a result of the *Written Decree of Muharrem* signed in 1881, the *Public Debt Administration (Düyun-u Umumiye)* was established. Since then, the Empire was semi-colonized (Ortaylı, 1983: 33). Being defeated in the Berlin Congress in addition to the foreign policies of European countries other than Germany, especially of France and of England, which gave way to the demolishing of Empire, Ottomans were driven to establish close relationships with Germany (36). In the August of 1890, a commercial agreement giving the Germans the status of being “the traders of the State having the honor of owning the most privileged permissions” was signed. The military force and regional government were penetrated using the railway to Baghdad (41). The Ottoman’s increasing admiration of Germany and German’s support of raising Islamic ideology put the Ottomans under the guidance of Germany (Ortaylı, 58; Rathman, 1982; Özyüksel, 1988; Soy, 2004; Evans, 1972). Since then, the period of bringing professionals from Germany began, and in July 1880, an agreement was signed in order to invite military and civil professionals. According to this application, which Ortaylı describes as unsuccessful, these people coming from Germany could work in Ottoman land by being promoted and could get their salaries from the Ottoman Bank (77).<sup>6</sup>

The idea that Germany played a certain role in the decisions about the exile found supporters due to the perception of Ottoman as a satellite of Germany.<sup>7</sup> Such idea that could not be proven until today has a wide range of ideas, from the ones arguing that Armenian forced emigration was a rehearsal of Germans’ first genocide to the ones saying that they were taken the idea of genocide from the Unionists. Bryce mentions that the decision of genocide was “carefully planned before” and Germans put their partners in an excusable position (1887 quoted from Timur, 2001: 50). In an essay written by Bryce in the New York Times, it is

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<sup>6</sup> For the conditions of the agreement, see Ortaylı, 1983: 59-60

<sup>7</sup> See Morgenthau (1918), for the relationships between the Union and Progress, and Germans in 1914.

mentioned that “[t]here is only one power that can stop the Armenian atrocities, ... Germany”(15/10/1915). Believing that Germans should be forced in this issue, Bryce is anxious about German’s silence about the issue. Another essay published in 1916 with the title of “German Method, Turkish Handicraft” offers that the genocide should be evaluated in the context of German interest (Timur, 2001: 51). Another expression about the issue is, “made in Germany and suggested to the Turks by German officials” by Rev. Alpheus Newell Andrus, senior missionary for the Congregational Station at *Mardin*. He says that wherever the Armenians stand against the Muslims, “it was German officers and German cannon that broke them up” (Literary Digest, 27/10/1917). Such discussions were reflected upon literary works. Not only the Anatolian Greek but also Armenian works often mentions Germans with “demonized mind” that directs Unionists.

Andreadis, in his novel, illustrates that the first order of white death was applied in a district *Kadıköy* in *Samsun* by collecting male population of the village. The same method is applied in *Bafra* region with “robbery, pillage and killings”. According to the code, the council holding the responsibility of actions called as “dispatching’ was sending everybody it could catch to *Çorum* and *Sungurlu* to make them die hard because of hunger and cold. ... As soon as the exiled people left, their homes were burned; their animals were also burned alive. In most of the cases, the people doing such pillage were their own fellow countrymen living in the neighboring villages” (Andreadis, 1999b: 45-46).

In the work, it has been mentioned that the plan was temporary, but in the author’s opinion, it was definitely not ingenious although prepared with reasonable causes. “If you throw the whole population in the middle of winter away from their land and banish them, this means that you made them to be destroyed by hunger, cold weather and illnesses. Moreover, if the fifty kilometers turns into two hundred, the target of the plan becomes explicitly obvious.” Besides, “if the guerilla forces wait, trap and kill the helpless Christian people in every twenty kilometers as if it is occasional, the odiousness of the plan is revealed. According to the work, the ones who could reach Mersin alive as ruined people after facing difficult process of exile, moved then to Greece as refugees. Before the Big Exchange, for various

reasons, three hundred and fifty people lost their lives in overall.<sup>8</sup> This amounts to the half of Greek population living in the region. According to author, the number of people coming to Greece from Eastern Pontus is quite high, but on the contrary, the number of them coming from Western Pontus is low. The author claims that the reason for this is such events that took place in the region (Andreadis, 1997: 61).

While the good-natured Muslim villagers are presented as helping Western Pontus people, the state authority and guerillas (by Topal Osman who would be mentioned later on) are depicted as destroyers, enemies and killers. On the other hand, the chaos of struggles, destroying and destructing guerillas, and the nationalist Greek guerilla demanding independence are not mentioned at all. The plans about the establishment of an independent Pontus state and applications of this plan are not mentioned either. The reasons of the decision for temporary migrations are not stated much and faced with silence.

The image of Turkish “enemy” as the other is identified with Topal Osman in the work of Andreadis. According to him, Topal Osman, who was born in *Giresun*, determines the destiny of Western Pontus. He has faced the law court very often, his name was called in dirty businesses and he was “a hunter of opportunity collecting tribute by threat” (Andreadis, 1997:50-51).<sup>9</sup> Before, Topal Osman went to Macedonia as a voluntary fighter but after his return, he organized his own guerilla after his coming back. Furthermore, “he deathly hates from the Armenian people”. According to the author, “he has made a big fortune by collecting tribute by brutal force. His target was primarily the rich people... The law on the general mobilization for the war, which included the Christian as well, was his main weapon. Everywhere was full of military deserters. Christians were afraid of sending their children to the Turkish army. This operation alone was enough to make him rich.” (1997: 50-51). The basic cause of the events is the weakening

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<sup>8</sup> Akçam (2002: 516) evaluates that the exile decisions as a consequence of the politics of the Turkicization, and explains that the decisions were valid for the Pontus people. He also states that the events called as Pontus and Koçgiri rebellions were in fact the story of forced emigration of the Greeks living in the Black Sea region. The number of Greeks massacred by Central Army under the command of Nurettin Pasha was 11,181.

<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, his heroic deed was quoted in web sites prepared for Topal Osman. Mümtaz (1995: 28), states that the opening of a front in the Black Sea region was prevented by the effort of Topal Osman.

political power of the Ottoman Empire. The Party of Union and Progress tries to overthrow the Sultan who has lost his authority. In order to be able to do their trades, people worked with the local Unionist committees instead of having the permission from local state authorities. Such an environment resulted in suitable conditions for the organization of guerillas. Life has become quite difficult due to the double centers of authority, the Unionists were on the one side and the Sultan was on the other. For the reason that, "Any Christian could complain neither for the pillaged property nor for the burned village. Their lives and their honor were in the hands of this Topal Osman" (1997: 51-52).

The author states that Topal Osman joined the Kemalist Independence Movement and became a deputy in the National Assembly. However, during the previous ten years, Topal Osman had pillaged the Pontus, but "this monster created his death by his own hands when he joined in the plot of assassination against Mustafa Kemal. Nevertheless, this event was remained only as a small detail in Turkish history. His name is stated in the official history as the hero of the Macedonian front and as a person who joined the National War of Independence" (Andreadis, 1997: 51-52). The work stresses that The Republic rewarded such a person called as "monster".

Topal Osman, who was depicted as a "monster" in the novels, became an honorable member of the Turkish parliament later. Therefore, the author, Andreadis believes this situation as controversial and unfair. Nevertheless, there are also certain points in silence. Cemil (1997: 169-177), who conducted a research on the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*, an organization settled for security by The Union and Progress mentions about the issue of Topal Osman. Topal Osman's guerilla force gathered in *Samsun* region includes about three or four hundreds of people. It was decided that this guerilla force should join the Rıza Bey front. However, Topal Osman could not adopt himself to military discipline since he used to perform everything by illegal methods. Because of his undisciplined actions in the ordered units, the youngsters that he had taken in his guerilla were taken away and he was employed in behind the front lines. The other members of the guerilla were allocated in various platoons. The members who had been claimed as coward people were sent to war for the first time and their abnormal

behaviors demoralized other soldiers. Rıza Bey wanted to get rid of Topal Osman because of such trouble he caused. The fellows of Osman ran away in the first Russian attack. His fellows were punished like deserters from the regular army; moreover, soldiers shot down some of them. When Topal Osman went to Rıza Bey to complain about the situation, he was punished by fifty strokes of a special tool of torture (*falaka*) for the crimes of harming military discipline and leaving the front without the permission of his commander. Later on, he was given a report mentioning that he had been useless for the military service.

The explanations above make it clear that because of the authoritative weaknesses and of the conditions of war, the guerillas could not be gathered under the structure of the military army since they were uncontrolled to a great extent. Contrary to account given in the literary work, guerilla leaders like Topal Osman were not considered as heroes. The state merely sought to attach guerilla units to regular army. Such facts are ignored in Andreadis' work.

In *Tamama*, the news about the displacement of Anatolian Greeks to inner parts of the Anatolia is declared to people living in *Espiye*. The village middleman walks and yells around the houses and calls everyone to gather as quickly as possible, just in front of the church with the minimum amount of personal belongings (Andreadis, 1997: 62). All the Anatolian Greek people living in *Espiye* are sent to *Sivas* with the condition of coming back as soon as the conditions are all right. In the work, the event of being sent to *Sivas* from the village placed on the way between *Giresun* and *Tirebolu* was called as the travel. Tamama's family and the villagers pass through the pathway of two hundreds kilometers in two and a half months, and lose some of their family members due to either epidemic illnesses like the typhoid fever or the desperate conditions of traveling. After a while, the conditions become so desperate that the author writes that the villagers "did not even bury their deaths" due to weariness (Andreadis, 1997: 76).

The villagers are in a bewildered state when they reach *Sivas*, "an old Byzantine city which is considered one of the military centers of Turkey". In the work, the main point of stress is about the days Pontus people spent in their original lands and the historical past of these lands. The bad conditions of traveling are rather

stressed in the Armenian works. In *Sivas*, the state makes them settle in the military barracks and schools. The military kitchen feeds exiled people but as the food is not enough which causes children to run away from the barracks and beg for food. The hero of the work chooses the same method by which she meets the daughter of Turkish commander called Ayşe (Andreadis, 1997: 76).

Another Anatolian Greek literary work *Tolika*<sup>10</sup> is based on a real life-story similar to *Tamama*'s. The author supports the story of the sister lost in the exile pathway by historical facts and documents. The character of the novel, Kirya Sofia, suffers from the pain of losing her sister during the process of exile and she usually dreams about his country in her elder ages. In one of her dreams, she is in Yizigöl, where she was born. Sofia lives in Greece and she suffers from being homesick.

Eighty-four years ago, in 1914, a beautiful, productive and rich village surrounded by the green areas enveloping green slopes of mountains ... A big river, the river of Aliş, that is Kızılırmak, was flowing just beyond a bit and it was reaching the sea in the nearby city of Bafra. Alis, that is Kızılırmak, from Bafra; Iris, that is Yeşilirmak, from east Samsun reaching to Black Sea. These were the biggest rivers of Mikrasya, of the Asia Minor. Turkish people were given the river Iris the name of Yeşilirmak, and were given Alis the name of Kızılırmak.... Yeşilirmak passes through *Amasya*, and reaches the sea just a bit of away from Samsun, from the east of the city (Andreadis, 1999b: 11-12).

The author makes the character, Kirya Sofia, give geographical knowledge in her dream and mention the original names of the rivers which were later changed by the Turks. In other parts of the work, he explains the origins of Pontus civilization by presenting historical documents. He implies that Turkish people occupied the Pontus lands, and instead of adapting their culture, they imposed Islamic culture. Nevertheless, according to the work, Persian people behaved just in the opposite direction. Persians settling in *Amasya* internalized Greek language and culture with great passion, and they "appropriated and spread" this culture (Andreadis, 1999b: 11-12).

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<sup>10</sup> The main character of the novel is Kirya Sofia, she lives in one of the squatters of Thessalonika, in Evosimo now. The main issue is about her sister whom she had lost during the exile process. The name of *Tolika* is a nickname for Anatolia (Andreadis, November 1999).

It can be said that Pontus nationalism has been supported by strong discourses. In almost every part of the work, the owned land, the culture, the language and the religion refer to this. By a primordialist approach, the land that they have been attached to, the bounding of blood and/or religion is stressed in order to exalt the ethnic stress. Geertz (1973: 259) defines this situation as primordialism with culture. Accordingly, primordial attachments are either culture-based given things or they are the things thought to be given by the current conditions or social existence. The givens providing the identity beyond these are religion, language or similar social practices. The discourse of exile increased the solidarity among the ethnic community as opposed to the political authority who forces the community to migrate and even to death. This was resulted in an increase of the state of belonging based on ethnic identity.

In the works of Armenian literature, the discourse of exile is much more detailed when compared to Anatolian Greek works. The reason for that is the losses of life in Armenian community is much higher than those of the Greeks.<sup>11</sup> McCarthy (1998: 92-93, 101) states that Greek Patriarchate consisted of 353.533 persons in *Trabzon*, according to its own statistics of the year 1912, and 351.104 in the same

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<sup>11</sup> The question of how many Armenian people were died during the forced emigration is an arguable issue. Yerasimos argues that the number of the death people is between six hundreds and eight hundreds, claiming that he reached this number from the calculations based on the population of Armenian people in 1941, which was about one and a half million during that time. This number is shown as two and a half millions in Armenian sources (2002:17). Laçiner, in the introduction of Akçam's book, states that this number is accepted as three hundreds thousands in Turkish official numbers and as eight hundreds thousands in the Ottoman sources while the number of Turkish people killed for revenge is about forty thousands (1992:23). Güler on the other hand, explains that according to the official Ottoman sources, the population of the Armenian people before the forced emigration was 1,250 millions, but totally 855 thousands of Armenian people were dispatched to these places: 345 hundred thousands to Caucasia, 140 hundred thousands to Syria, 120 thousands to Greece and Aegean Islands, 40 thousands to Bulgaria, 50 thousands to Iran, 50 thousands to Lebanon, 10 thousands to Jordan, 40 thousands to Egypt, 25 thousands to Iraq, 35 thousands to France, USA, and Austria. He also mentions that 56.610 persons died during the emigration process due to the various reasons, and population about 145 thousands joined to the Russian side and died or deserted abroad while they were fighting against the Ottomans (2001: 106). (Andreadis, 1999b 59-60) Andreadis gives numbers about Pontus Greeks in the work. He also states that guerilla forces killed Christian people in the period during which there was no state authority. "According to the records of the Metropolitan in 1907, the population of the city together with its villages was 153.500 persons. There were 392 churches and 439 priests. In the year 1914 in which the First World War began, there were 57.100 Christians living in Bafra together with its 116 villages. At the end, when the war was over, only 9.236 persons were left from that number, which means 84 % of the Christian population was death." Using evil methods, the essence of the population of the region was altered. In addition to this, the new regime establishing the Independence Courts (İstiklal Mahkemeleri), was settled in *Amasya* and suppressed people. He says that the purpose was "to fear and suppress people, and to extirpate the Greek identity in the region" (Andreadis, 1999b 59-60). Güler, in his research (October 2003: 313), claims that 98.739 persons in *Samsun* and 161.168 in *Trabzon* were constituting the Greek population according to the 1914 population census.

city according to Turkish official statistics. In the years of 1913-1914, this number is stated as 161.574 in *Trabzon*. Bryce, the former British Ambassador to the United States, told that 800, 000 Armenians had been destroyed since May in New York Times October 7, 1915. Additionally, Dink reports that before the establishment of the Republic, the Armenians had been placed in the third rank regarding the overall Ottoman population. The Armenian and Turkish sources report such numbers about their population changing from three hundred thousands to four millions (October 2000: 31). The numbers are ranging from four million to three hundred thousands. Nonetheless, when the numbers of lost people about 100-150 hundred thousands given by Pontus Greek sources and the numbers expressed in million or hundreds of thousands compared Armenian sources, it could be acknowledged that the number of lost Armenian people is much higher than that of Greeks. Before developing an analysis, a short summary about the event of forced emigration deserves paying attention.

The government took the Forced Emigration (*Tehcir, the Law of Dispatched and Location*) decision in the year 1915, in the city of *Van* due to rebellions taking place in Eastern Anatolia. It was decided to send people from various cities to Hallopi, *Zor* and *Musul* (Erden, 1953:120). Bayur (1983: 38) states that the emigration was made to begin by Talat Bey before the decision was approved in the Council of Ministers (*Meclis-i Vükela*). Talat Pasha, the Minister of Interior, wants to send away *Zeytun* Armenians in April 23, 1331 due to the failure to stop actions started by them. Nonetheless, this decision about emigration was taken on May 30, 1915 (Appendix 2). Bayur states that it is difficult to understand this situation. Taking the responsibility, Talat Pasha had the decision of forced emigration approved in order not to be considered the only responsible person by the Entente Powers (1983: 38). The events in *Zeytun* on the other hand, began when the Armenian people took their weapons from the recruited soldiers as well as cutting telegraph wires (May 11, 1915). The rebellion was suppressed and Cemal Pasha stated "Rebels have been trashed. Now, let us send two thirds of Armenians living in *Zeytin* to grassy savannas where Muslim people constitute the majority and let us give them fields there". Following this, the first group was sent to *Konya*. The Ministry of Interior, who considered their joint existence as drawbacks, decided to transmit Armenians to different places. Hence, Armenian

people who had been sent away from places of *Dörtyol, Adana, Haçin, Zeytin,* and *Sis* were sent to the southeastern part of *Hallope, to Zor* and *Urfa* (Erden, 143).

Talat Pasha mentions in his memoir that Enver Pasha calls the Armenian Patriarch, tells him about the Armenian assault, and wants him to preach community to leave their weapons. Besides, he also mentions that harsh precautions should be taken if the current state continues as it is. Patriarch, on the other hand, expresses that he was going to advise the Armenian people to continue their affiliation. Nonetheless, as a result of the assault of the Armenian people living in *Muş, Bitlis* and *Van*, Talat Pasha says, “the law for making ‘the Armenian people emigrate’ is prepared and submitted to the Council of Ministers” in the general headquarters (1986:81). After stating that he is against the application of the law, Talat Pasha says, “I knew it would result in quite unpleasant consequences to make people “migrate” in such ways. Therefore, thinking about the future, I insisted on not applying this law and I succeeded delaying its coming into force” (1986: 81-82). He also mentions that the military forces demanded for remigration but he himself could not apply it after the rebellion in *Van*. He also states, he was accused of “not being devoted to home country” just because of this (82-83). Since the army was in difficult condition, he does not consider the necessity of delaying it any longer and the application of migration was started from *Erzurum*. Erden quotes the opinion of the Fourth Commandership of Army. The target of the forced emigration was “to turn majority into minorities where in their existing places they might become dangerous” (149). It is provisioned that the security of migrants would be provided during the process of migration from the seaside to inner parts and they would be sent to the places, which could provide the necessary conditions of their survival (149). While Erden says that the migration process was organized quite well, he also mentions that the activities of killing were finished in the district of *Diyaribekir*. Still, two guerilla men demand new duties from the governor of Hallopi. Cemal Pasha wants the evacuation of two people but later on, by the words of “being obligated to the executioners and killers for a kindness is a heavy burden. (. . .) The intermediaries of dirty business are necessary at the time of need and usage, but after that, they should not be carried on our heads but should be destroyed (as for

toilet papers)” (1986: 267-268). The party decides to give the capital punishment to these two guerillas. These words reveal how migrated Armenian people were subjected to massacre.

Akçam evaluates the event of the exile as of homogenizing Anatolia. According to the decision based on religion, non-Muslim communities were either exiled or completely annihilated (1995:17). Akçam expresses that a community defining itself as both Ottoman and Muslim chosen the Turkish identity for the sake of saving the Empire that was about to collapse (19). As one of the leaders of the Union and Progress, in his essay *Millet-i Hakime (The Dominant Nation)*, Cahit defends Ottomanism as the dominant ideology of 1908, although he states that the country neither belongs to the Armenian nor to the Bulgarian people. According to him, the country is Turkish and he says, “[t]his country will become Turkish as the dominant nation in the country is Turks and will be Turks” (Akşin, 1987: 169). As for the year 1915, supported by the decision of the forced emigration, such ideas gave way to the rising of the Armenian and the Anatolian Greek nationalism. Issues like the superiority of the Armenian blood and the cultural superiority of Hellenic civilization were begun to be spoken about. This range of ideas changing from the primordial attachments bounded with the land to cultural attachments speeded up the rising of the nationalist ideas prior to the nation-state.

The front in *Çanakkale*, the danger of Russian occupation in the East, the pain of *Sarıkamış* coming together with the rebellion of the Armenian guerilla forces led the state authorities to take official decision of migration just after illegal implementations. On April 1914, Russians gathered four voluntary Armenian units in *Erivan* as well as establishing the fifth unit by the Armenian people who had run away from Anatolia and the Caucasia. It was planned that these units would go to Van and join with rebelling local Armenian people there. As this plan became known and the rebellion had started, the forced emigration was applied (Yerasimos, 2002: 15). The exiles took place in the districts near the fronts excluding *İstanbul* and *İzmir*. Not only gendarme’s units, but also the units of *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa* (secret service) and the units organized by the Union and Progress were given duties for the organization of the exile (16). There were

some Armenians who were not subjected to migration. Other than Catholics (Appendix 3a) and Protestants, soldiers with their families, governmental officers, traders (Appendix 3b), certain workmen, construction workers and the branches of Ottoman Bank located in the countryside, the Turkish Tobacco Monopoly, the Armenian deputies and their families (Appendix 3c), The Public Debt Administration, and officers working in certain consulates due to the consideration of their well behavior and orphan Armenian children were exempted from the dispatch.<sup>12</sup>

In his work, Çerkezyan quotes that the era of Abdülhamit, The Red Sultan (*Kızıl Sultan*) in other words, has been a bloody era of 33 years full of local massacres. As “The originator of local massacres” the Sultan “is responsible for the killing in *Tokat, Amasya, Harput, Trabzon, Dalorik* and many other regions of Anatolia.” According to the author, the Unionists who overthrew him and cooperated with the Armenian intellectuals completed his half-finished job (2003: 49-50). The process quoted by Çerkezyan implicitly explains the phases that took place in the Armenian case. The most important reason for the massacres was the settlement of Kurdish tribes in the eastern cities that populated by Armenians between 1830 and 1840.

The settled Kurds attacked the Armenian villages which initiated resistance and first organized actions. Other events were the 1876 Bulgarian rebellion, the 1877-1878 Russian-Ottoman War and the Berlin Congress which would bring about the decisions about to be taken for the eastern cities in the given area.<sup>13</sup> The Bulgarian event provided a model and the possibility of gaining independence with

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<sup>12</sup> [http:// www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/yayin/osmanli/o\\_b\\_ermeniler/1b\\_001e.htm#\\_ftn10](http://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/yayin/osmanli/o_b_ermeniler/1b_001e.htm#_ftn10). The related four decisions were given in the Appendix to give an example of the ones who were excluded from the dispatch. Besides, see Kılıç (2003) “Armenian People who were not Dispatched and Located”, The Journal of Education In the Light of Science and Reason, No. 38.

<sup>13</sup> According to 61<sup>st</sup> entry of Berlin Congress, *Sublime Porte (Babı Ali)* has the responsibility of “realizing necessary organizations and reforms due to local requirements in the cities where Armenians live in addition to providing their security against Circassian and Kurdish peoples. Besides, it is obliged to give information to the states, which controls the applications of these.” England who did not want Russia penetrate this area takes the responsibility of issues about Armenians. Thus, first Armenian national independence committees were established in London (Imbert, 1981: 165).

international support was recognized. *Hamidiye* Regiments<sup>14</sup> established by Kurdish people suppressed Armenian rebellions during the 1890s. In 1896, the Armenians unexpectedly attacked the Ottoman Bank. The increasing Armenian rebellions seemed to have gained English support and strengthened the Ottoman-German relationship in this period. One step forward starting with the Balkan War was the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire which resulted in the empowerment of the Turkish nationalism. The First World War became the turning point; the war began as stated by the Union and Progress between the internal enemies, the non-Muslims and the external enemies of the country (Yerasimos, 2002: 11-13).

The analyzed works, especially the ones based on life-stories of Sarkiz Çerkezyan and Kirkor Ceyhan, basically deal with the discourse of exile. Both works begin with the exile and end up with the return to Anatolia, and to Turkey of the Republican Period. In "*The World is Enough for All*", Çerkezyan narrates the story of his family who was affected by the decision of the emigration taken in 1915 and sent to Der-es Sor from *Karaman*. The author states that he himself was born in a camel barn during this exile. Çerkezyan gives the information that somebody coming from *İstanbul* warned them about the emigration one or two years before its happening, but the Armenian people living in *Karaman* did not believe in this. His uncle drives this person away claiming that he is a provocateur. Considering this, we can conclude that the Armenians, especially living in the inner parts of Anatolia, were not aware of this event in any way and they trusted in Ottomans. Nevertheless, just after this, he adds that the state they trusted in was not behaving well towards them: "My uncle Sarkis, who had dismissed the person from the city was killed in the massacre of *Adana*. In 1915, the biggest pain of all history for the Armenian people began. "The events have proven Kordiç's (the agitator) warning to be true, but it is too late anyway"

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<sup>14</sup> The power of the central administration was quite weak in the eastern cities. In the east, the tribal structure was widespread. The armed Kurdish tribes out of the control were unexpectedly attacking the Armenians villages from time to time. According to Timur, the Armenian movement demanded its freedom following the Bulgarian model in addition to the increase of the uneasiness in the East caused Sultan Abdülhamid to establish the "*Hamidiye Hafif Süvari Alayları (Hamidiye Regiments)*". The idea belongs to Müşir Zeki Pasha. In order to establish military force and to establish a balance between the Muslims and the Armenians, 36 regiments composed of 512 to 1152 persons were established. It is also said that the Sultan thought these regiments as a counter-force for any kind of risks coming from the Russians. The Armenian rebellions in *Zeytin* and *Sasun* were suppressed with the use of extreme violence. The *Hamidiye* Regiments around *Sasun* were never controlled. (1989: 328-329)

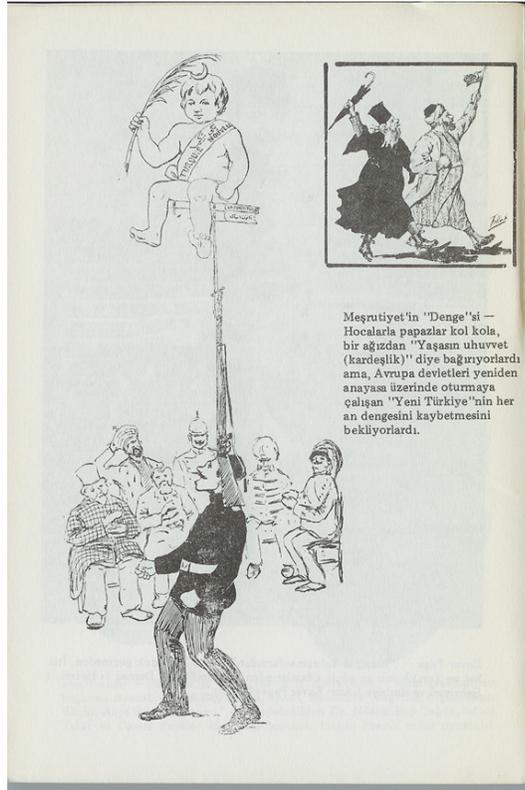


Figure 6. *The Constitutional Period*  
Talat Paşa, 1986, edited by Mehmet Kasım

(Çerkezyan, 2003:31). The period implied by Çerkezyan is the 1908 revolution and the events of *Adana* in 1909<sup>15</sup>.

In 1908, the revolution was declared; the freedom and the brotherhood gained priority. The consequences of the revolution, which had been tried to be built upon fragile balances, had been expected in anxiety. Therefore the caricature taken from the study of Kasım who quotes the memoir of Talat Pasha demonstrates this situation quite well. When the Armenians get the right of being armed in the Eastern Anatolia, developing a balance against the Kurds comes into the agenda. The Kurdish tribes settled by Sultan

Hamid caused trouble for Armenian's right of carrying weapons created a new balance in the region, a balance that would give birth to the new problems. This situation of balance was disrupted by the massacre of *Adana* against the Armenians (Timur, 2001: 35).

In this period, the governor of *Adana*, Cemal Pasha, describes *Adana* by the words of "the people were so much spoiled that there was no influence of any kind of the government officer from the smallest gendarme to the biggest governor upon them" in 1909, just after the revolution of 1908. Again according to him, the Armenian committees were waiting for the right time to rebel and to call for independence (1996: 355). On the contrary, Akçam says that the local

<sup>15</sup> Seyitdanoğlu (1983) collected the news about the Armenian people published in the newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi* in the years between 1908 and 1915. The events of *Adana* were quoted daily.

be called as local massacres (1992: 99). Nevertheless, Cemal Pasha expresses in his memoir that the declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy supported the establishment of the Armenian associations like the *Taşnaksütyun*, the *Hinçakist*, the Reforme *Hinçakist* in *Adana*, and that a priest called Muşeg became the leading figure in this movement. He also quotes that the Armenians would destroy Turks by a revolution and would occupy *Adana* with the support of the European naval force as one step forward for the establishment of the independent Armenia of the future. According to Talat Pasha, the event started on April 14 as a result of the Armenian attacks and resulted with the death of 17.000 Armenian and of 1850 Turkish people. Talat Pasha says that, “during the massacre, the tendencies of the both sides were not different from each other” (362). Svazlian expresses that between 1894 and 1895; not even one year after the Declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy, the Armenians who escaped from Abdülhamid’s massacre, could not be saved from the Unionists at this time.<sup>16</sup>

Çerkezyan quotes in *The World is Enough for All*, the route of the exile and gives information about it. He says that the exile began on July 1915 in the city of *Tekirdağ* in Thrace district accompanied by gendarmes all the Armenians living in the villages and towns along the railway line<sup>17</sup> following *İzmit-Adapazarı-Bahçecik-Afyon Karahisar-Kütahya* to Baghdad were sent to Arabian deserts. Çerkezyan expresses that men were massacred before being banished, groups constituting children, women and elderly people died due to either hunger or epidemic illnesses like typhoid fever and typhus or attacks with knives and axes. Besides, according to the work, some groups had been able to make it to Syria were destroyed as a result of hunger, dehydration and the armed attacks in places like Hallopi, Der-es Sor, Meskene, Resul Ayn (2003: 32 -32)<sup>18</sup> . In an essay published

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<sup>16</sup> The Turkish cabinet sends the deputy of Ottoman Assembly, Hakob Papikyan, to *Adana* to prepare an official report. According to Svazlian’s quotation (2004), thirty thousands people were killed and the massacre was under the knowledge of officials (1919: 28)

<sup>17</sup> Before the decision of the forced emigration, they were dispatched to Konya from *Zeytun, Maraş* and *Haçin*; and after the decision they were dispatched to *Hallopi, Rakka, Zor, Kerek, Havran, Musul, Diyarbakır* and *Cizre* from *Adana, Ankara, Aydın, Bolu, Bitlis, Bursa, Canik, Çanakkale, Diyarbakır, Edirne, Eskişehir, Erzurum, İzmit, Kastamonu, Kayseri, Karahisar, Konya, Kütahya, Mamuretülaziz (Elazığ), Maraş, Niğde, Samsun, Sivas, Trabzon* and *Van*([http://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/yayin/osmanli/o\\_b\\_ermeniler/lb\\_001d.htm](http://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/yayin/osmanli/o_b_ermeniler/lb_001d.htm)).

<sup>18</sup> Autobiography, a study of oral history. From the point of the publisher of the book (Zarakolu), it is an experience of oral history. She perceives it as a tradition of the construction of a counter-history as opposed to

in New York Times on September 5, 1915 it is written that The American Armenian Relief Fund Committee wanted to help the Armenian exiles in Turkey but the Turkish cabinet refused it. A letter sent quotes as: "These people are being removed without any of their goods and chattels, and to places where the climate is totally unsuited them. They are left without shelter, without food, and without clothing, depending only upon the morsels of bread which the Government will throw before them, a Government which is unable even to feed its own troops".

The work of Kirkor Ceyhan narrates the events of exile after the Emigration Law. Contrary to Çerkezyan, Ceyhan mentions that people were not killed right away because of being Armenian but they were sent to exile. This difference comes from the fact that Ceyhan explains the period one-year later from the forced emigration and he talks about the tragedy of the Armenian family who changed its religion and became Muslim. The forced emigration was loosened at that time, yet there were beatings. According to the author, "They did not shoot the people immediately they caught, they banished his whole family to Arabia. Probably, due to the bullet shortage in the ongoing war, they leave bullet's execution to the exile pathways and to the Desert of Der Zor" (Ceyhan, 1999:15).<sup>19</sup> Ceyhan illustrates the tragedy of a family banished for the reason of hiding two Armenian persons at their home. The fugitives "had no sin at all. Except for being Armenian. But, how can you make it clear to the Ottoman?" (1999: 12). The family cannot escape from the exile by changing its religion. The author stresses, from the point of fugitives in the police station, that they have become exiles because of their ethnic identity. He writes that:

"What kind of thing it was we were subjected to, we destroyed the home of a whole family too. What was their sin. My beloved God, was it their accepting us into their home and hiding us there ...We have been hiding from hole to hole...Did we kill men, or wounded anyone... Did we direct our guns against the state. We left all our

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the official history. "You can listen to the marches of 1908 Liberation which Sarkis Usta learned from his mother, the folk songs of the forced emigration as well... also the most distinguished examples of the Armenian poetry... Sarkis Usta is a political oral narrator; he is a dengbej between the generations. His father became a legend between the Toros Yörüks." (May 2003: 6).

<sup>19</sup> His being exile as a result of his illegal sheltering of an Armenian family changed the religion living in *Zara*, at the shores of *Kızıltırmak*, and the events he lived on the pathways of the exile process were narrated in accordance with the realities of the historical events.

property, fields, homes, children back, always running in the mountains. Until where?... To the home of Cihanyan Somon, and then, six months later, here, to the police station.” (Ceyhan, 1999: 14)

In these works, the subject matter is rather the poor Armenian villagers. There is no story about the rich Armenian community in *İstanbul*. Timur mentions two separate Armenian communities in his works, the one includes the Armenians living in *İstanbul*, taking part in the government, and the other one includes the Armenian living in the Eastern Anatolia, mixed with the Muslim people. The two groups of Armenians, the ones in *İstanbul* who have gained power in trade life, and the ones in the Eastern Anatolia, constitute two separate social groups. While the *İstanbul* Armenians are under the influence of Europe, the Eastern Armenians are affected by Russia. They are organized for an action evolving from the idea of autonomy to the idea of the establishment of the independent state (1989: 321-322). As opposed to dual category of Timur, Ahmad mentions that Armenians are not homogenized when compared to the Anatolian Greeks. In terms of politics, he stresses that the Armenians were divided into different groups as the trade community in *İstanbul*, as the intellectuals who defended both the traditional interests of their own and those of the former group. Additionally, there was a group of *Taşnaklar -Nationalist Federation of Revolution of Armenians (Hai Heghapokhakan Dashnakstion)* representing the interests of handicrafts, traders and villagers living in Anatolia. Furthermore, there was no established state that the Armenians could identify themselves as Greeks did in the period of the Constitutional Monarchy. However, there existed the demand for establishing a state among the Armenian intellectuals having the ideas of autonomy and independence (1986: 105). What is stressed in the literary works is the desperate situation of the local notables and villagers who were not aware of anything related with the exile process. The Armenian bouncers had already gone to the mountains for the action or they had joined the Russian Army. In Ceyhan's work, which narrates the story of the ordinary people living in their village, the process of exile is explained step by step.

In the work dominated by the discourse of death, the family's first loss in the exile is the death of their 6-month old baby. This story is narrated in the section titled as "Who Knows Where Our Dead Bodies Rest!" Saying "we buried Makkah haphazardly with her pieces of clothes in an easily collapsing hollow after

throwing her into carelessly”; he explains how death becomes an ordinary event (Ceyhan, 1999: 26). Resigning himself to his fate, he accepts the situation and says “[o]ne comes to this world in order to leave it” (1999: 29). In other pages, the author rather begins to reproach. It is usually stressed that losses are not limited with property; it is a life-trade that is taking place. Ceyhan announces that the biggest misfortune was their expulsion from their lands and being forced to keep the exile pathways. Hence, the death becomes a small detail in this misfortune: “Leaving his land/One faces various troubles/Death is the least” (86). Ceyhan makes his character first lose his youngest child, then his paralyzed sister and then his mother. Except for the mother, the buried ones are somewhere out there. It is defined as: “In these pathways, death is not taken as it is in the present times, life is not either. It seems as if it was leaving the pathway just a second to go to the loo” (1999: 55). Exile is identified with death. The death and burial of the dead becoming ordinary events and the devaluation of life demonstrate the condition of not being able to become even the other.

Other obstacles explained in the exile pathway are the crowd, the exhausted conditions of everybody and the existence of parasites in everywhere, in the caravansaries, in the coffee shops, in the police stations, in the barns, on the ways, and in the village rooms. Ceyhan makes his character to define this as: “If nothing, these parasites everywhere will destroy the Ottoman. We are constantly scratching, but our biggest worry is, how they took and crossed these roads” (1999: 35). Despite all the negativities, the villagers help the exiles and they carry their children. Ceyhan says that, “Mercy has still been with us” (35). In the work the ones who make these people, Armenians, “the other”, are not the Turks. Even if implicit, the life between Turks and Armenians is emphasized with the adjective of “brotherhood”. Peoples’ conflict each other does not take part in the work. Everything emerges from changing conditions and the war. The reasons for the decision of the forced emigration are not mentioned in the work. Describing the situation, Ceyhan emphasizes that the whole Anatolia is in a desperate and painful condition and he says a couplet: “If I was alone, I would not bother / Not only me, everybody of all is miserable”. Train, cars and animals have been allocated for dispatching the Armenian people but because of the crowd, the dispatch has been impeded and the allocating car and animals has become more

difficult. It has been pointed out that feeding assistance has been provided for compensating the lack of food<sup>20</sup>.

#### 4.1.1. Coming Back

The Pontus people sent to *Sivas* and the Armenians sent to *Der Zor* come back from the exile pathway. The People of *Espiye* find their village in ruin when they came back to their village after two years of being in the exile.<sup>21</sup> Thinking that staying in Pontus is not reasonable in a time when the Greek invasion of *İzmir* begins, the Pontus people migrate to Russia. Some of them pass to Greece from Russia. Later on, after the Lausanne Agreement was signed, the exchange of population was decided on (Andreadis, 1997: 86). The discourse of coming back is full of pain, a complete dissolution and destruction is at stake. In *Tolika*, the main character, Sofia, loses her sister Tolika in the way of escape from Pontus. The driver, Hüseyin, who helps them, throws away her sister instead of giving a break for her need on the way. The child runs after the car and begs: “My sister, take me... My sister, take me!” (Andreadis, 1999b: 80-81). Since losing time means death, the driver does not pay attention to leaving a child to death.

According to Çerkezyan, when Hallopi was invaded by the English forces, the tragedy of Armenians had been over in the region. The ones who were able to survive in spite of all the heavy conditions “come back to the various regions of Anatolia saying that this is our home, our shelter, our country, with a great yearning” (2003: 24). According to the documents available in the state archive, an order was sent to a number of cities (4 cities and 6 law-ownerships) to cease the dispatch of the Armenians who were sent or who took the exile pathway on October 27, 1915 (Appendix 4b). After a year or so, in the decision dated March 15, 1916 (sent to 8 cities and 9 law-ownerships), it is stated that the dispatch has ceased as it is deemed to be necessary because of certain important governmental and military matters. After that date, it is also ordered to cease the

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<sup>20</sup> [http://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/yayin/osmanli/o\\_b\\_ermeniler/1b\\_001f.htm](http://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/yayin/osmanli/o_b_ermeniler/1b_001f.htm)

<sup>21</sup> Another problem is related with the Muslim migrants coming from Macedonia who settled in the houses. The Minister of Interior was submitted a decision because of this. According to the decision dated on February 1, 1919, the immigrants occupying the houses of the Greek community were ordered to vacate them and to give them back to their real owners in *Gönen* (Appendix 4a).

dispatch happening for whatever reason, (Appendix 4c). The war has ended and *Istanbul* has been invaded now. Ceyhan quotes that Vahdettin put Damat Ferit Pasha into the position of the grand vizier and the Unionists escaped. The situation had changed then, they would be able to come back and get their properties (1999:116).

Without any reason and without any preparations, he puts the empire into the war, puts Armenian nation into such desperate position, and the entente powers will not make them pay for this? They even established the court of Mustafa Pasha the Kurd, the unionists were being sentenced one by one, and some of them would be hanged. The code of emigration approved by Unionists and abolishes the rights of Armenians would be annulled...an imperial edict was ordered providing that exiled Armenians will come back and have their properties, if they were stayed alive (Ceyhan, 1999 117).

Çerkezyan's family prefers to come back but the cabinet refuses their wish by saying that: "Anyone who wishes can go abroad within one month. Otherwise, we can not take the responsibility of the things that they will suffer from". A vast majority anxiously migrates again to the Arabian countries following the route of Mersin.

The process of immigration finishes after the change of the government in Hallopi. The Armenians stay on their own as the Turks run away from the Englishmen. The Englishmen provide the food support and three years of hunger ends up. People are bewildered. All the Armenians rush to Hallopi. Since there are no Turks, the prohibition of entering and exiting is annulled (Çerkezyan, 2003: 41). Çerkezyan's family prefers going back to Anatolia. They complete their official documents and they go back to *Adana* from Hallopi. They want to regain the properties they had left in *Adana*. Yet, other people have occupied their properties. (43)

On the other hand, according to the official documents available in the state archive, the properties of the dispatched people should be enlisted and transferred to the Commission of Lost Properties (*Emval-i Metruke*). There is a decision made to prevent the pillage of the properties belonging to the dispatched Armenians and to provide their selling at their real price (Appendix 5c). Nevertheless, because of the claims about the selling of the properties at a price lower than their real price, another decision was taken on August 11, 1915 in

order to invalidate the existing agreements (Appendix 7). Meanwhile, the Armenian people wishing to come back get their permission (Appendix 5a) and the Commission of Lost Properties states that all the conveniences will be provided for the dispatched Armenians and Greeks to have their protected properties (Appendix 5b). A decision related with this announces that, the property return would take place only for people coming back from the forced emigration. Consequently, it is ambiguous how the relatives of the people who are deceased would have their rights. It seems that these decisions had been taken and applied when needed.

Çerkezian asserts, in his novel, that his father as a banker lost all of his property and he still has his father's promissory notes despite all these decisions. He says that "he could not accept this irrational politics in his lifetime. He suffered from its consequences" (2003:110). Dadrian states that the issue of expropriation of properties and wealth has been openly discussed in Ottoman Assembly of Deputies as opposed to the code of emigration that could not be enacted. The senator Rıza offers a written proposal for delaying the forced emigration until the end of ongoing war because of severe winter conditions, but it is refused and the forced emigration continues to be applied (50). Rıza's another objection is about the impossibility of transferring the Armenian property and wealth to The Commission of Lost Properties, since these have not voluntarily left their properties and that is why their property cannot be expropriated and sold. Rıza will be silenced by the threat of taking harsh precautions against him if he continues his agitation against Armenians (52). Dadrian defends that the forced emigration has been applied in order to possess the Armenian property and the expropriation of these properties has been realized by demolishing a race (53).

Some relatives of the author has come back and settled in Syria and Lebanon. Some others have settled in *Kırıkhan* district in *Hatay* that has been under French control. They migrate to Hallopi when *Hatay* was included within the borders of the Turkish territory (Çerkezian, 2003: 23-25). Çerkezian underlines the Turkish attitude toward the Armenians second time in the work by saying, "The Turkish state does not want the dispatched people to come back". Therefore, the government publishes a threatening announcement that indicates "anyone who

wishes can go abroad in one month. Otherwise, the government can not be responsible for the events they will suffer from” (48).

It was a period when the War of Independence was about to begin. Most of the exiled people had gone to Syria, Lebanon or other countries after that threat. Çerkezyan writes, “Now, there are many Armenians in Arabia, in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt, they have all remained from that period. All the ones migrated to France, Canada, America are the Anatolian people.” Yet, some documents demonstrate just the opposite of Çerkezyan’s claims. This decision was the one taken by the Ministry of Interior on October 22, 1918 and called “The Decision Permitting Armenian People’s Coming Back” (Appendix 6a). On October 23, “Precautions Taken for People who would Return to their Land” was determined. It is stated that all the precautions should be taken for the coming back of the people in security who were dispatched because of the war. It is also stated that if any trouble was confronted in this issue, the faulty party shall be punished (Appendix 6b).

In Ceyhan’s work, the Syrian front has been abolished after the arrival of exiled family in *Urfa* and the start of the withdrawal towards inner Anatolia. The character loses his mother in *Urfa* and, he buries her there. According to the work, *Urfa* is the place from where people were sent to Syria and Der Zor. The author makes the authorized person to tell that the state did not know about the fall of the front. He speaks as: “They are continuously sending them from inner Anatolia. The ones we sent there come back here as well. I do not know how we will tell them. Now, you can come to see me after burying this corpse” (Ceyhan, 1999: 97). The migration has been to the opposite direction this time. The family of the character goes back *Besni* via *Adiyaman* (104). They have settled in an empty Armenian house in Besni. They can walk around freely but they have to go to gendarme station to prove that they are still there. The neighbours show mercy to them and bring bread and molasses for them (105 -107). They go to the bazaar in the morning and work for anybody who asks them and this way they live on (Çerkezyan, 2003: 41). The Turkish people who have helped them are positively elaborated in the work. The state is the other represented by the *zaptieh* as it signifies the power of administration.

Çerkezyan calls the end of the war as “The Rescue from the Hell”. The English seize Hallopi in 1918. Here, the coming of the Turkish Republic is announced as good news for the first time: “Mustafa Kemal left Hallopi by running away at the nighttime. His military orderly was an Armenian from *Talas*. He came to my father and informed him that Mustafa Kemal had gone to the Anatolia, he also said, “this man will rescue Turkey”. My father later on said, “he was a man with vision, and proved to be so” (2003: 41).

#### 4.1.2. Adoption of the Children

Many Turkish families adopted orphan Christian children during the exile. Two themes attract attention in the analyzed works of Greek people. One of them is about the children of non-Muslim families, their being obliged to leave their families and their being entrusted to the Muslim families for their care. The other one is about their being looked after by the charitable Turkish people. The point of stress in the works is rather the people who saved the children.

In *Farewell to Anatolia*<sup>22</sup>, Satiriou expresses this situation quite tragically. When Manoli, the main character of the novel, is in Worker Battalions (*Amele Taburlari*)<sup>23</sup>, he witnesses a tragic event in the farm he has been working. The soldiers are accompanying a group of Armenian people. They tell the owner of the farm and the village people that they are not permitted to take men but they can choose women and children. They even say that:

Gendarmerie pulled the babies out from their mother's arms and threw them towards Muslim women, as if they were vegetable sellers selling watermelons in the bazaar. Then, they were yelling as:  
-Come on, hold it, it is free! The poor ones would die if you do not take them (Satiriou, 104).

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<sup>22</sup> In this work, Dido Sotiriou tells the story of Greek people who left Anatolia more than 40 years ago. He writes the events he heard from Manoli Aksiyotis, which otherwise would be buried in the archives. In this work based on Manoli Aksiyotis' true life story, Manoli had had been in the Worker Battalion, had wore Hellene uniform during Antolian invasion by Greeks, had lived in Greece as a refugee in the years between 1914 and 1918. In the years following the Second World War, he joined Greek National Movement of Resistance. Certain information about the work could be obtained in the methodology chapter of this research.

<sup>23</sup> The Worker Battalion was established for making non-Muslim people, who were taken into military service without being armed, work in the road construction. Detailed information about this issue will be given in the coming chapters.

Then, they leave the children in the village. Uncle Ali for whom Manoli works, takes two little Armenian children with himself (107-108). The paradoxical image of the Turkish people is at stake here: on one side, the cruel Turks leaving the Christian children away from their parents and on the other, the Turks protecting children who would possibly die otherwise in the terrible conditions of the exile. Nevertheless, it is not the Turkish people but the Turks representing the state, i.e. the soldiers, who have caused such cruelty.

In *Tamama*, Andreadis talks about two Turks; one of them is Emir the Pilgrim, and the other is Mustafa Okay the Commander who has adopted Tamama, the main character of the novel. Emir the Pilgrim is a poor shoe repairer with eight daughters who always wished God to grant him a son. He adopts two orphan boys. Commander Mustafa Okay goes to *Sivas* from *Erzurum* due to the dispatch. *Erzurum* and *Kars* have been under the Russian occupation. The Turkish military army withdraws the inner Anatolia, yet the Russian war continues. Tamama knocks on their door and begs (Andreadis, 1997: 77). "The poor child has been walking around in the exile pathway for two years but has come across only with ruins, hunger and destruction" (79). She has settled in refugee barracks with her aunt Eleni and two sisters. Commander offers taking the child into his house (81) and she stays with them.

As Andreadis narrates in his literary work, people with good-will have adopted children who have become homeless due to the migration. However, when the decision for coming back has been taken, the situation of children has created problems again. Having lost their own families, the children found new families which provided new life and new home. This new decision, however, would ruin their life again. They have been traumatized the second time upon having hard to leave their second families. In *Tamama*, it is mentioned that a committee has been served to get children back from the charitable Turks who have been taking care of them. This committee is composed of Greek Priest, a Greek teacher and a Turkish police officer. The official authorities order that children be given back since they belong to the Greek community (Andreadis, 1997: 84). Emir the Pilgrim has to leave two orphans he has been taking care of. The committee goes to

Commander Okay's house to explain the situation to the child. They do not force the child to return upon his refusal. According to the work, the child has no family or any relatives. For that reason, the priest does not take the child away from that home. Since the child is secure with this well-off family, the priest accepts the situation and makes an exception for the commander (1997: 85). Thus, Tamama has been prevented from a trauma of a loss for the second time.

In the Armenian works, the children are in severe condition. Çerkezyan narrates that people do not have any hopes for the future and they follow the exile pathway leaving their deaths behind. As time pass in the pathways, people want to leave their children in secure places since they cannot carry even themselves anymore. Later on it is claimed that people taking care of the abandoned children have made them Turkicized, which means that they turned them into Muslims people. Another related theme is the return of these children to their community after having been gathered from the families they live with or from the orphanages. This theme will be analyzed in the coming pages.

There was a place called as Zügürtler Plateau in Ereğli, on this route; the exiles settled there one or two days. Most of them continued their way after giving their children to the trusted people there (Çerkezyan, 2003: 31-32)

At the same time they have become unable to carry their children because of hunger and dehydration. They leave their children to the entrances of Arabian villages on the way after entering into the Arabian deserts. Çerkezyan's mother leaves her daughter in such a place saying that "let the child live, no matter what happens to us". "My father recognizes that my sister is running in tears from back... He says, 'come my daughter come' and holding her, he continues his way. Later, they gave the name of Arşaluys to my sister, her original name was Münevver." (2003: 34) This is an example of their returning to the original religion after the apostasy, as it will be seen in the section of apostasy.

Çerkezyan (2003: 34) tells the story of his sisters and brothers who were born and died on the exile pathways. Her mother gives birth towards morning in the exile path. Gendarmeries who want to continue tell them to dismantle the tent, then his father explains the situation and wants two hours more. The answer is quite cruel, the gendarme cracks his whip towards him and says that: "We will

totally eradicate you, but still, you are having babies...” After this answer, they continue their way. The baby cannot stand the harsh conditions and dies. Der-es Sor is not so far. Çerkezyan expresses that hearing the news coming from people running back, his family has settled three or four years in Meskene around the region of Hallopi. He was born in a camel barn there, in a village called as Cabul, as it has been mentioned before (34).

Svazlian evaluates the situation of orphan Armenian children in his book broadcast on the internet. He talks about a girl saved by the desert Arabs (Sirena Alacaciyán, 1900). The Arabs put tattoos on her face to hide that she is an Armenian. She helps household chores as long as she stays there. Svazlian emphasizes that there are a lot stories of this kind and he quotes that Talat Pasha ordered the killing of the Armenians and he himself confirmed this from the witnesses he listened to. Satenik of *Sivas* also quotes that Dođramaciyán told that the officer attacking their village told that all of them should either accept being Muslims or otherwise he would order the whole village to be destroyed (2000: 367,117 quoted from Svazlian 2004).

Another witness, Harutyun Alboyaciyán (1904) says that he was taken to the Cemal Pasha’s Turkish Orphanage and was turkicized as other children like himself after he lost his family. He explains that he was given a Turkish name, circumcised and given Turkish clothes. He adds that they were taken good care by the Turks on Cemal Pasha’s order as he admired the Armenian rationality. According to the witness, the idea behind well behavior was the belief that the converted Armenian children would sublimate the state and thus Cemal Pasha. (2000: 269 quoted from Svazlian 2004).

Witnesses quoted by Svazlian present the events of the apostasy and the change of names as Turkicizing. It is often emphasized by the witnesses that the orphan children have been taken care of without being left to die. The witness claims that they have been adopted for the sake of the superior intelligence of the Armenian race. In an environment where anger has been suppressed, it should not be surprising to emphasize the superiority of the Armenian culture. Such explanations including the racial sublimation can be considered as the restoring

of an ethnic identity from a different angle, an identity which has been oppressed, ruined and sent away from its own land. On the other hand, the motives of the enemy and of the other have continuously been emphasized. Clever Armenians have been subjected to unequal treatment and taken away from their land as opposed to the Turks. These are qualifications supporting the reproduction of the Armenian identity.

Another example of women and children left in the exile pathway can be found in the work of Fundermann<sup>24</sup>. In the work, Kurdish Neo who tries to escape to Iran during the struggle of *Celali* tribes fights with an Armanian group belonging to a *Taşnak* Party. While fighting, Neo sees a beautiful woman who has lost his husband, crying and holding his baby. He shows mercy, and takes her with her two sons under his protection. Pemiğ, the woman, becomes his second wife. However, the woman cannot stand this difficult situation and kills herself despite the existence of her son (1999: 10). The child named Elo grows up in the village. Although he becomes a Muslim, he cannot become one of them, he has always been the other: “the children always captivates him while playing the game of being enemies, they pretend torturing him. His role is always being the servant, doing the jobs in the games of being the master, the lord. ...The little children blame him when they do bad things claiming ‘Elo did it’” (11). Hence, in the work, no matter what Elo does, he always remains as the irreligious, giaour other.

The work claims that there are the Kurdish people who have hidden women and children in the Armenian villages. *Hamidiye* Regiments (*Hamidiye Alayları*) announce the ones then catch as giaour or villainous. Nonetheless, some people, who are brave enough, have protected the children claiming that they are theirs or they have hidden them in the manure. Actually, as it will be pointed out in the discourse of the apostasy, “It was free to take the Armenian girls and women, and to organize a forced marriage by the order of the Sultan. However, killing or raping them was preferred. The women and the girls were putting shit on their bodies, darkening their dishes, and completely shaving their teeth in a shapeless

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<sup>24</sup> Fundermann (1994) narrates the story of Elo. Based on the true life story the work expresses Elo, his memoir and life in the village. The writer states that he shares the same village with Elo in an explanation at the end of the work.

fashion and creating various tricks and unthinkable solutions to prevent at least the rape” (1999: 24). In New York Times on July 1, 1915, the narratives of the Armenian girls and the Christian women were published. Accordingly, the American Committee for the Armenian and the Syrian Relief rescued the Armenians who were either captivated in Turkish, Circassian and Arabian camps or taken into the Turkish harem. Additionally, they were forced to become Muslims and tattoos were put on their faces to show that they were Muslim women. On October 3, 1915 it was decided to change the exile path so that the women would be in safety. (Appendix 8). This decision has become the expression of the prevention of rape. A temporary solution has been proclaimed.

We learn from Ceyhan’s work that there has been an American Orphanage and an organization of the Red Cross in *Sivas*. An Armenian person working there gives them blankets and twenty Mecidiye silver money and some food from the storage of the orphanage, and says that, “Nowadays, the Americans are collecting orphan children what if you do not, you better not take these four children with you... and we get them to college?” (Ceyhan, 1999: 39). They cannot give their children to the orphanage because they cannot persuade the gendarme. According to the New York Times dated on April 29, 1915 Turkey did not permit to “aid the Armenian Sufferers. According to the article, not only the Armenian Red Cross surgeons, nurses, and agents barred from Turkey, but also all other foreigners, ... the nationals of neutral countries”. From these lines, we can observe that the Armenians living in America have been developing a powerful lobby organization. Moreover, we learn from the literary works that the Red Cross and the American Orphanage have been organizing activities in *Sivas*.

The issue of the war orphans has become a severe problem during the years of the First World War. The decision quoted in the Appendix 9 explains the treatments about the Armenian children. Determining with whom the children live, their lists have been sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from the Ministry of Interior. It is ordered that the security of the Armenian orphans be provided and it is decided that they settle in the orphanages (Appendix 10). The decision has been distributed to cities like *Diyarbakır*, *Adana*, *Trabzon*, *Sivas*, *Bitlis*, and *Van* in order to send out whether there are any suitable buildings for the little children

and to know about the number of the children. In order to take care and protect the forlorn children, The Directorate of *Dar'ül-eytam* has been formed under the structure of the Ministry of Interior. This directorate has become insufficient as the number of the children increases. In the years 1915-1916, these children were sent to the similar institutions in *İstanbul*. The Notre Dame de Sion, the Seven Hills Italian School, the Russian Monastery in *Galata* are among other 65 institutions serving for the children. When the number of the children increased up to 16.000 (in 1917), the support of certain charity institutions was provided. One of them was the Muslim Society of Making Women Work. Taking care of 500 children, the society offers that the children should be allocated in the houses as servants to do household chores since their number has reached 1800 (Karakışla, 1999: 46-47).

The determination of the children's ethnic origin has remained a serious problem although the problem of bringing children up has been solved somehow. The problem has resulted in other communities accusing each other of assimilating their community in *İstanbul*. Recruiting, Turkicization or Armenianization is among the accusations made (Karakışla, 1999: 48). As a consequence of the defeat in the war, the Armenians have gained the support of the Entente States and begin to look after their children. The American officers are interested in the issue. The activities of The Muslim Society of Making Women Work have been searched for the "Children with Lost Identities", and they have tried to determine their ethnic origin (Appendix 11). In the decision number 96/76, it is demanded that the Armenian girls and children be delivered to the commissions constituted by the Armenians. The Muslim children have been handed over to the Ottoman police and the Armenian children were handed over to the Armenian Patriarchate. However, the ones with ambiguous ethnic origins have been accepted as Turks and others as Armenians (49-53).

Meanwhile, the rise of the national consciousness and awareness of identity of the Bulgarian, the Greek and the Armenian peoples, and their evolution to be an independent nation state emerged in the dissolution period of the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, we can see the efforts to protect a state that has been abolished next to the nations ready for action on the way to independence whose

intellectual seeds has been spread. The Armenians and the Greeks criticized minority politics of the Ottoman. Nevertheless, the Armenians and the Greeks have applied similar policies like the exile and the population exchange for the minorities living in their countries during the process of the establishment of the nation-state. Such policies are used for the establishment and the legitimization of the nation state. Mann calls these politics as “the dark side of the democracy” (Mann, 1999: 21). Decisions for massacre have been taken, applied and ideologically legitimized by the state, which can be called as part of Westernization. These decisions sought to create a homogenous nationhood composed by Turks. For this reason, the ethnic groups other than the Turks have been excluded. The minorities were positioned as the “other” to create ideal Turkish nation state. As a result, policies such as assimilation, immigration, murder and / or massacre have been used more intensively to construct a nation state (22). After the First World War, Austrian-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empires were abolished and left their places to the nation-states. These policies frequently were in use after the emergence of the nation-states. Fein researching the effect of modern technology and ideology on the victims of genocide in the 20<sup>th</sup> century says that people “were murdered in order to fulfill the state’s design for a new order” (1979: 8). Pushing this a bit further, we can say that tragic events in the establishment of the nation-states carry the traces of the new-world order behind.

#### **4.2. Religion: “The Long Street Molded, Krumnis Became Giaour”<sup>\*</sup>**

In the discourse of the religion, as in the discourse of the exile, there exist no common themes in different literary works. Instead of common themes, it is possible to talk about different themes in different works. The secret Christianity, direct or indirect forcing of the Christian subjects to change their religions, the rights given to the non-Muslims in the *Tanzimat* period and the question of to what extent these rights should be applied, the institutional questioning of the religion, the relationships between the religions, the peoples and the state have become the leading issues under our subtitles like the Apostasy, and the Religion, the

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<sup>\*</sup>Andreadis, 1999, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed: 76. *Uzun sokak çamur oldu, Krumni’ler gavur oldu*

Freedom and the Capital. However, the richness of the literary works and the themes quoted in the discourse of the exile cannot be claimed to have been found in the discourse of the religion. In other words, there are quite a few themes supporting the discourse of the religion in literary works compared to the discourse of the exile. These themes do not constitute integrity with each other. Despite this handicap, the most important reason for analyzing the discourse of the religion is that it is intensively examined although it is supported by relatively fewer literary works.

In the Armenian works, the situation of apostasy in order to live safely in the existing place of survival, in order to be subjected to the exile has become dominant. On the contrary, in the Greek literary works, the religion is perceived as a binding element of the ethnic identity and the Christian practices have continued to be secretly practiced even though they changed the religion. In the Armenian works, beginning from the period of the First World War, issues like the exile, the death, the fear of death become more important and the discourse of the religion turned into a subcategory. On the other hand, the Greek works construct a Greek identity sublimated with the Greek mythology, without any concession about their religion. Another ethnic identity of the Anatolian Greeks, of the Pontus Greeks defines their affiliation on the basis of the religion. Some Pontus people in Andreadis' work have changed their religion for reasons of fear from the official authorities, for not losing the management of the chrome mines and in order to take the political control of the region in their hands. Moreover, the Pontus people pretending to become Muslim and hiding their Christian identity while continuing their worshipping in the hidden churches constructed under the ground.

The literary works concentrating on the discourse of the religion are Ceyhan's *Who is Knocking on the Door?*, Andreadis' *Those Who Have Secret Religion*, *Tamama*, *The Lost Girl of Pontus*, Satiriou's *Farewell Anatolia*, and Manglis' *The Sons of Agha from the Islands to Bodrum*

#### 4.2.1. Apostasy

As is mentioned in the previous heading, in the Armenian works the themes of death and massacre are dominant in the period of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. In the process of the intensive chaos of forty years covering the period between the Berlin Congress in 1880 and the Law of Dispatch and Location in 1915 (Appendix 1), the sufferings, especially the Law of 1915, resulted in the apostasy of certain Armenian people. People who think that they will be exiled or killed because of being an Armenian either voluntarily changed the city or wanted to have a Turkish identity by changing their religion. The fear from the official authorities can be determined as the basis for these actions.

In *Who is Knocking on the Door*, Ceyhan states that Commander Yahya invited the Armenians to become Muslim in *Zara* in 1915. Commander says “Masters, I will ask you possibly the most difficult question of your lifetime. Do you think that it is easy for me to ask this question? Nevertheless, I see the future better than you do and I show mercy to you” (1999: 18). Revealing that the Commander had a hard time asking this question, Ceyhan continues, “This noble-hearted commander puts himself in our shoes while asking this question and must be thinking, ‘I wonder what kind of a position I would be in the invitation ‘leave Islam and accept this religion were made to me’, he is extremely embarrassed and broken out in sweat” (Ceyhan, 1999:18). They accept changing their religion after consulting with their families although they are not comfortable with it. He says, “we have chosen the most suitable names for ourselves and left the name of Margos or Giragos and become Ahmet or Mehmet in one night.” Still, it is not that easy to become Muslims:

You cannot become Muslim right after you became Ahmet or Mehmet. You do not consider it like Christianity. If you were born from Christian parents and went through the priests' baptize, it is all right, you are a proper Christian. But Islam is not like this. My brother, first you will be circumcised. It does not even finish with the Islamic confession of faith. There is pilgrimage; there is giving forfeit. You will learn all the namaz prayers completely. Others are all right but that has ruined my son. However, the priest reads the prayer in Armenian language in Church and we make our cross from time to time as the name of our Lord of Jesus was mentioned and continue our Christianity. But is this like it? You try all the time to learn and say two sentences in a language we do not know (Arabic), as the persons whose learning age has been passed away quite much. Whatever, we tried very hard.” (Ceyhan, 1999: 19)

By these words, we can conclude that people who changed their religion to get rid of exile considered the issue of apostasy quite serious and changed the form of their religious practices. Obviously, what is not clearly stated here is the impact of the fear of and distrustfulness to the state authority and fear for losing their lives and properties. Ceyhan mentions that thanks to the Commander that the members of the family changed their religions and were prevented from the forced emigration and the dispatch. Nevertheless, as is mentioned in the analysis of the discourse of the exile, they were subjected to the exile one year after the decision of forced emigration because of their relatives despite changing their religion, had to become Armenian fugitives. Yet, they had a happy life. They live on the banks of *Kızılırmak* by thanking the God for a piece of blurred water, for “bony, black bread of barley”. The ones who were able to learn Arabic prayed in this language while others who could not learn it were silently praying in Armenian and “yelling much higher than everybody else as ‘God, thank you very much’ to make other hear their voice” (1999:11). On the contrary to the peaceful environment pictured by the author, the decision of the Ministry of Interior on July 13, 1915 states that the people changing religion just for the sake of their personal interests would be redispached because of apostasy (Appendix 12). This shows that the decision of dispatch was applied quite arbitrarily. It is not much understandable to define interest and present it as the only determinant of the apostasy although people have changed their religion for the sake of not leaving their homeland and because of fear. An earlier decision supporting this interpretation of ours is the decision of the Ministry of Interior numbered as 4635 (Appendix 13). According to the decision, any Armenian who is heard to have involved in any kind of event will not be allowed to stay in their settlements.<sup>25</sup> It is underlined that the women and the children changed their religion all together to rescue from the exile in this period. The problem here is the Ottomans not considering these apostasies as sincere (Beyoğlu, 2004).

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<sup>25</sup> An encrypted telegraph sent by the Ministry of Interior on July 1, 1915 states that the expelled Armenian people changed their religion individually or as groups, and their purpose was to stay in their lands; therefore, such apostasies would not be trustable since they change their religions because of their interest, and it is decided to refuse their application and to dispatch them.

The characters in Ceyhan's work are Muslim Armenians. As mentioned earlier, their conversion to Islam could not help them, i.e., they sent to exile eventhough they were Muslim. A fight between the Muslim Armenians and deserters occurs in a police station during one of the breaks on the way from *Malatya* to *Urfa*. The characters of the work get their share in the fight and get wounded although they have protected themselves. The commander of the station sends the family to a desert hospital on the way. They are on the pathway of the exile again after they have been cured. Coming close to *Urfa*, a character Setrak says, "Our Jesus Christos has saved our lives, he healed our wounds and improved our health, but he is not interested in the state politics as his namesake lived nine hundred years ago did" (Ceyhan, 1999: 19). Their apostasy has been of no use; they have not benefited from the religion. They are again on the exile pathway. To him, whatever religion it is, everybody is helpless before of political decisions. St. Jesus "healed the paralyzed one, opened the blind eye, gave life to the death body, but could not prevent the Roman-Jewish politics" (92). The author refers to the situation in which Jesus could not save even his own life when confronted with Roman politics, he was crucified and killed. They are helpless under any circumstances. They have had to change their religion in vain. Not only their land but also their God has been taken away from them. Their desperateness has turned into a complete deprivation. They have become Muslim to save their lives. Still, they keep their Muslim presence, and they bury their deaths on the ways according to the Muslim practices. Nevertheless, they do not neglect praying secretly in their original religions anymore.

In the same work, in a village, Ceyhan's father and an old gendarme of *Maraş* talk about the young gendarme of *Darende* during one of the breaks. The young gendarme usurps money from the rich Armenians in the groups, kidnaps beautiful Armenian girls to his village and forms a harem. This irritates the old gendarme of *Maraş* since his education does not allow such a behavior. He tells that he has been trained by the commander he has been working for and says: "there is such a belief of these people, my nephew, if you turn an Armenian into a Muslim, not only the one who changed but also the Muslim who has made him change directly goes to heaven... I do not think that this pillage is beneficial for any man." (1999: 59). Except for the ones changing their religion to get rid of the forced emigration,

exile, the story of young women who have been made change their religion by force or by kidnap has been emphasized by these words. This sub-theme of the discourse of the exile has been examined in this study under the heading of adoption.

We see that a decision has been taken to ease and legitimize the marriage of the Armenian girls who have changed their religion without questioning why and under which circumstances. The Ministry of Interior announces by an encrypted telegraph that a decision has been made saying that it is proper for Muslims to marry the Armenian girls who have become Muslim without allowing any misuses. It states that such marriages are proper (Appendix 14). This decision has caused the Armenian girls' converting into Islam without their own will in an extremely chaotic period. According to Beyoğlu (2004), the Armenian women married to Muslim men are excluded from the exile process and it is allowed that the Armenian women who have changed religion have the freedom to change it back if they wish so. However, this is limited to the age of twenty. That has become so much complicated that the heritages of the married people or of the children left with trusted people have to be put in the agenda soon. At the end, on August 11, 1915 the Ministry of Interior took a decision about protecting the properties and giving their shares of the people who met the conditions enlisted above (Appendix 15).

Even though it has not been mentioned explicitly, the religion becomes the most significant point of stress of the ethnic identity. The seeds for the national identities defined by the unity of the religion, the language and the race have become widespread at this period. Even if the religion have changed, people turn back to their ex-religion, even if the names have changed, people have re-changed and taken the names proper for their religion. The religion becomes the dominant mechanism for providing social attachment to a certain group. Under the protection of this mechanism, the children have been looked for and found, the invitation for the people who have been Islamicised out of their own will to return back to their own religion, could be made.

In the Greek works, two different main themes could be followed. The works considering the Pontus Greeks stress the situation of people who hide their Christianity and pretend to be Muslim. While in the works considering the Greeks living on the coasts of the Aegean and in the islands, the themes about the perception of the religion in general and the Islam in specific are narrated. The economic conditions of the Pontus Greeks and of the Greeks living on the Aegean coasts are the basis of this difference concerning the discourse of religion. In the first instance, certain economic conditions like the productivity of land, geographic generosity conditions and intense population of non-Muslims dealing with trade in this region have prevented any emergence of problems related to religion. As a consequence, in this region, there has been no need for a change in religion or for organizing actions based on religious matters under the threat of social structure.

Besides, the Armenians living in *İzmir* and *İstanbul* have not been subjected to the exile as it has been mentioned in the discourse of the exile. Moreover, the social and economic conditions of the Armenians and the Greeks living in these regions have been different from the non-Muslim people of Anatolia. For example, the institution of jewelry is under the control of the non-Muslim peoples of the Armenians and the Greeks. With the development of trade in Europe and as Ottomans have become deteriorated, the need of a non-Muslims class to make business in the name of Europeans has emerged. This “third class” provides trade between the Ottoman and the European businessmen, and takes its immunity under the protection from one of the European states, causing unequal competition as the Ottomans have become weak (Akşin, 1987: 10).

Kütükoğlu's counting of dividends and the counting of foreign capital in *İzmir* are interesting in terms of showing the allocation of property, commodity and revenue in the period of the *Tanzimat*. In the censuses carried out until 1854, it had been tried to determine the Muslim, the non-Muslim, and the non-native citizenships. The target has been to determine taxpayers and to prevent tax evasion. In *İzmir*, the Anatolian Greeks coming mainly from the Islands constitute the majority of population, and there are foreign nationals other than this: the citizens of England, Austria, French, Russia and Italia along with the Greek citizens (1999: 760-761).

The document quoted by Toprak related with the economical activities of the Union and Progress in *İzmir*, reveals the efforts to establish a national economy.

According to this document, foreign trading establishments, which have not been controlled by the government, have been managing Ottoman tax collectors as they have wished. The situation of the society in *İzmir* is related to rescuing “the country from an embarrassing economic slavery and rescuing the foreign trade from a heavy burden of foreign middlemen” rather than a money problem. Hence, the situation of the “natives of this country” who cannot earn their living would be rescued (1982: 386-387). This essay written in the Newspaper of *Dersaadet* Chamber of Trade reflects the efforts of establishing a national economy in addition to targeting at the Islamicization of the trade dominated by the non-Muslims that means the Turkicization of it, with the words of “the real children”. While the Turks are claimed to be the real children of the country, the others are minorities cooperating with the foreigners as opposed to the national economy.

Nonetheless, the condition is quite different for the Pontus Greeks. They have inhabited in a region with geographical obstacles since the land infertile, covered by mountains and forests. The source of survival is the chrome mines. In the analyzed works, people from this region go to Russia to work as migrants. In Andreadis' *Tamama*, it is mentioned that it is a fashion to go to Russia and to earn money there, in the year 1905. They come to their village from Russia in every summer holiday. Additionally, the state's declaration for general mobilization and calling all Ottomans for the military service put the Pontus people into a difficult position at that time. The condition of the Muslim people leaving their homes and countries in the meantime is never mentioned however. The Pontus people in Russia decide not to go back from Russia in order not to be punished as deserters (1997: 39). The relationship of this situation with apostasy becomes revealed at these points: In order to take over the management of the mines that is the only source of survival and to empower the government of the region the apostasy for the Pontus people has become a must. Yet, they have practiced their decision about secretly worshipping and not abandoning their own religion. These kinds of applications have turned into a mechanism supporting ethnic identity and group attachment as the existence of a secret social act signed in the community

for two hundred years. Compared to the Greeks of the Aegean region, the religion has been actively used to reproduce the self-identity and the nationalism of ethnic group. The other has existed with their Christian identity as opposed to the Ottomans, who have been identified as Muslim for the Pontus Greeks of the Black Sea region.

The *Tanzimat*<sup>26</sup> Period takes the *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayun* as its starting point in the modernization of the concepts of state and administration, and continues until the period of the First Constitutional Monarchy declared in 1876 (İnalçık, 1993: 343). Eryılmaz separates the *Tanzimat* period into two periods. He states that the first one was between 1839 and 1856 which includes the codes and applications of *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayun* took place, and the second one which covers the period beginning from the Firman of Reformation (*Islahat Fermanı*) in 1856 up to 1876 when the first Constitutional Monarchy (*Kanun-i Esasi*) was established. The purpose of the Hatt was to rise the nation up to an advanced level and to provide the people with prosperity; in short, “rising the property and the nation” (İnalçık, 1993: 356). The *Tanzimat* brought drastic changes to political, social and the economic lives. It was Reşit Pasha, among the class of clerks of Babıali, who wrote and applied the Firman of the *Tanzimat*. He was abroad for many years, learned the Western understanding of governmentality and believed in the superiority of the state (353). Bringing radical changes in the state organization, the firman created new laws on protection of life, property, chastity and honor, on the collection of taxes, on recruiting soldiers and on work hours (350).

The lives, properties, chastity and honors of all Ottoman subjects, were under the guarantee of Islamic codes (İnalçık, 1993: 352). Reşit Pasha believed that he could modernize the state by uniting the state authority in the hands of bureaucrats (354). Furthermore, the principle of the Sheria was put aside and “that all the citizens are equal before law regardless of any differences between the state authority and the citizens or between the Muslim people and the non-

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<sup>26</sup> The meaning of the word of *Tanzimat* means ordering, structuring and reorganization. Eryılmaz mentions that Muslim theologians and scholars (*ulema*) perceive God as the authority of making law and says that in this period, the applications belonging to sublime will were replaced with law that has the nature of organizing (Eryılmaz, 1991: 92)

Muslims” was emphasized. Therefore, arbitrary will and bad organization would be ceased and the security for everybody’s life, property and honor would be provided (357). Besides, it brought the equality of the state and the citizens as well as giving more public rights and duties to the non-Muslims. According to Ortaylı, despite its Islamic nature, the firman absorbed the Western law into the Islamic society (1987: 144). İncalcık emphasizes that a new concept taken from the West was applied for the first time mentioning the existence of a general rule equally applied to all the people and the communities' (357). While this application was more stressed in the Firman of Reformation in 1856, it was openly expressed in the Kanun-i Esasi in 1876 by the words of: “all of the people living under the Ottoman State of Sublime to whatever religion they belong are called as Ottomans without any exceptions” (358).<sup>27</sup> Such an attitude was blamed for “setting the non-muslim subjects free from the dominancy of the Turkish Muslims” by the *Tanzimat* intellectuals, especially by the ones such as Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi, and Ziya Pasha defending “motherlandist-nationalist” ideology. They also claimed, that “*Tanzimat* took place as a result of the pressure coming from big powerful states” (İncalcık, 1993: 359).

On the other hand, the declaration of the *Hatt* caused reactions among the intellectuals the common people, both of whom interpreted it from their own viewpoint. To a certain extent, the author confusing the two firmans with each other emphasizes that religious and ethnic freedom was provided by the 1856 the Firman of Reformation under the title of *Hatt-ı Hümayun*. The Christian people had the freedom of establishing churches, schools and foundations. As it will become clear below, the Firman of Reformation supported the rights given to the non-Muslim people a little bit more. Following this, the hidden Christians came out and openly expressed themselves. Andreadis quotes that the people who announced that they were in fact Christians were put in jail. The author stresses that the words of Malik Ibn Anas said in A.C. 795, “The prophet ordered that the

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<sup>27</sup> Moreover, three years later from the declaration of the *Hatt*, a printed notice was sent to local governings under the Russian threat announcing “to please non-Muslim people as much as possible and to provide equality as long as it is possible and in accordance with the *Şer'i Şerif*”. This means the consolidation of the decisions about the protection of people of all classes as individuals in addition to their properties and chastities (İncalcık, 1993: 358).

heads of the people changing their beliefs should be cut off” were still valid. (Andreadis, 1999a: 67).

While the Muslims were not pleased with the rights given to the non-Muslims, the latter had the courage to struggle for their rights. Hamlin (1878, quoted from İnalçık, 1993: 362) says that “the news about the abolishment of the servage created big uproar in Filibe. As soon as the Hatt was declared, the *raya* (*reaya*) wanted their freedom following their leaders. However, the landowners strictly refused it...*Gülhane Hatt* arose the nationalist feelings among the Bulgarian *raya* especially in the Bulgaria and in the Macedonia (*raya* [*reaya*] is identical with the farmers, all the governed people other than the warriors). Additionally, the most extremely reacted issue was the equality of all the people in paying taxes. This meant the abolishment of the privileges causing “the strong opposition of the Christian notables and the chief men who paid less the religious men before” (369). That was the reason for the rebellion of the Christians living in *Rumeli* as well as the movements in Anatolia. Because of the new taxation regime, the privileged categories and the groups mentioned in the line above were provoked against the reforms and they incited people (382). The Greeks began to look for establishing their affiliations in the Empire of the Eastern Rome because of the increasing movements of nationalism. In addition to this, the independence of the Greece, the *Tanzimat*’s claim of further cooperation with the local governments increased the tension further. For example, the lyrics of the folk-song about Vlachavas the priest and the kleft leader rebelling against the Ottomans mention that his life would be saved at the expense of his apostasy: “ Become Turkish, the priest, I will forgive all of you/ I was born as Romneos (people of Eastern Rome) and will die as Romneos (Volkan & Itzkowitz, 2002: 119).

“The Union of Civilizations” (*İttihad-ı Anasır*) targeting at the political union of the Muslim and the non-Muslim peoples in accordance with the *Tanzimat* had become a fiasco. That was because of that, the rights given to the non-Muslims and their reaching up to the equal status with the Muslims created many reactions and harmed the “Turks honor of being ‘the dominant nation’ (Eryılmaz, 1992: 127). The concepts like “the *giaour* / irreligious people”, said for the non-Muslims, were forbidden. According to Eryılmaz who quotes from Abdurrahman Şerif

Efendi (1985: 59), such concepts became more popular. The commander of the Voyvoda Police Station rebukes the accused people by saying that “Now, there is *Tanzimat*, the giaour people will not be called as giaour” since he was fed up with complaints (128).

The firman, which actually brought important changes, was the Firman of the Reformation. This was prepared solely because of the pressures coming from the foreign states, and aims to provide equality for the Christian people in every aspect. After being forced to sign the Firman in 1856, the prosperity of the Christian people and the authority of taking the necessary precautions were transferred to the European states. The firman was mentioned in the Paris Agreement and the Firman of Reformation was placed in the 9<sup>th</sup> entry against all oppositions. Hence, they got the right of the security and of the intervention for the rights of the non-Muslim subjects (137). Berkes presents this as an expression of the demand of the national independence of the nations (1978: 213). Minorities which were positioned as the other for years and had the implicit status of being “Protected” acquired the same status as Muslim subjects. With the support of the foreign countries, they accelerated their demands for independency. Instead of being a part of a weakened dynasty in the process of dissolution, being independent in the land of living became more attractive. Even Reşit Pasha evaluated the firman as the creator of the *Tanzimat* by the words of “a tool of destruction given to Europe by the villains” (Eryılmaz, 142). Ortaylı, on the contrary, does not agree that it is quite divergent to give certain rights in the government and the politics of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire to certain religious groups other than the dominant religious group of the country. They already had the right of opening their schools and churches wherever they needed. The changes in the understanding of the administration were in accordance with the Ottoman understanding of the government. The state paid the price of getting European aid in the Crimean war. The number of the churches and the non-Muslim community schools in many places of the country increased after the Firman. Reforms trying to diminish outer pressure were tried to be applied. Nevertheless, the Firman of Reformation was accused of preparing the necessary basis for the foreign aid and for encouraging them. Ortaylı mentions that he agrees with such criticism adding that the economic events were applied

even without waiting for this firman. He also adds that the non-Muslim subjects were pleased neither with the firmans of the *Tanzimat* nor those of the Reformation. Both of them accelerated the national and the social reactions (Ortaylı, 1987: 92-93).

The most significant criterion mentioned in the Firman was applying the same law to all of the people living in the country whether or not they were Muslims. The law of Sheria, the capitulations and the consulate courts, the non-Muslim people's own specific courts and the religious law and the religious courts managing their special law relations resulted in a complete chaos. Leaving the Islamic principle and the institution of *zimnet (dhimni)*, the principles of the firman would be applied to everyone equally. Moreover, the decision of recruiting non-Muslim people in the government services and making them work in the proper positions stresses the abolishment of the institution of the *zimnet* once more. However, the non-Muslims were accepted as the unspoken people within the nation system before<sup>28</sup>. Another source of the inequality was to protect previous privileges of the non-Muslim people while applying the firman for all the Ottoman subjects (Bozkurt, 1986: 24). It is stated in the Firman of Reformation that there would be no intervention in the religious affairs of the non-Muslims; only the governmental authority of the communities was restricted to some extent. Religious leaders' collecting money and taxes from the community was forbidden (25). The right of the equality given to the non-Muslims by the Firman worsened the condition of the communities that were privileged before. The Greek community perceived the condition of having the same rights with the Jewish community as a loss of status. According to Lewis, this equality is valid from top to bottom as it is from the reverse. This change is not a preferred situation for the people at the top, anyhow (1998: 586-587).

These political and social developments in Pontus came together with the nationalist movements rising in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Krumni people declared that they are Christian since they thought that they would not lose anything as a

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<sup>28</sup> Please, see the explanation about dhimni (*zimni*) and the nation system in the chapter of nationalism, ethnicity and minorities under the headline of A Brief and historical Review of Minorities in Turkey.

consequence of the situation of Ottoman Empire after loosing the Russian War in 1877-1879 and the principle of equality declared in the Firman. The author explains this as: "They left their insincere Islam as soon as the Sultan's aid was ceased and the state wanted to take them for military service because there was nothing to benefit from it." (Andreadis, 1999a: 81). Having forgot that they had deceived the government for two hundred years the author states that the government had a conservative attitude towards people on the contrary to his explanations above. The rights presented in the Firman of Reformation were not applied. Krumni people continued their struggle for acceptance until 1910 and liberty was given to the Ottoman subjects by the influence of the Young Turks. These Greeks were called as "religious changers" and marked them as villains. The Ottoman Administration Communities were established in every region that declared its Christianity. The Turks called Krumni as the "Small Greece" from then on (1999a: 77-78).

In Andreadis' *Those Who Have Secret Religion* the story of Süleyman the Mollah is narrated. Mollah was born in a Muslim Varenu on February 2, 1760, married at the age of 16 and became the religious and spiritual leader of the region after coming back when he was 22 years old. At the same time he was an appointed Christian priest (1999a: 28). Mollah's speaking Turkish various texts from Koran were narrated as: "It was a great assistance to the region in terms of communicating with the Turkish authorities. That was because strange things happened in Krumni during the 1870s. Although people were Muslim, they could not speak Turkish, they talked to each other in the *Laz* Language, in Greek language in other words, the situation of Turkish officers and families who had been living in the region for a long time. The second and the third generations were speaking the *Laz* language and they did not consider Turkish language important" (1999a: 12-13). According to registrations of *Cizre*, Yerasimos mentions that beginning from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Pontus Greeks constituted the most crowded population of the Christian people living in Anatolia. Clarifying that they were Orthodox Christians, Pontus people came from the same origin with

*Tzan* and *Laz* people who were Christianized by Georgians. He also mentions that they could not be considered as Greeks or Armenians.<sup>29</sup>

Claiming that the apostasy emerged in 1650's, Andreadis states that he collected the information about this issue but the Turkish authorities did not consider this event important as a sub-information: "it is not possible to get information from any of the Turkish authorities. I did not have any chances except for consulting the Greek authorities". He states that he expressed the issue only from the viewpoint of the Greeks (1999a: 14). For that reason, the justly causes of the Pontus apostasies were enriched by the documents and the historical explanations throughout the novel.

After transferred to the Ottoman government, the number of mines in the region of Krumni increased. The Christians looking for places to live in the inner parts of the region settled here. Hence, they got the chance of continuing their traditions by being away from invasions. The region full of migrants was divided into fief fields by the Ottoman government and the feudal lord come. According to the author, feudal lords were chosen from the Muslims resulting in increasing pressure towards Christians (1999a: 21). The region attracted full of privileged people because of the income coming from mines and Christians' economic condition got worsened more and more. The author quotes that the people decided to change their religion for the sake of protecting their lives: "they decided to protect their properties and to stay in the region they worked. Hence, they all became Christian but in agreement, they protected their traditional religion and became Hidden Christians." (23) The author also quotes that the Christian church in the east supported the situation. They were able to apply their plan easily since the Ottoman governors did not prefer to settle in the mountainous region. The Muslims who were actually the Hidden Christians took over the management of mines in time (4). The migrant flows to the region began just after these events during the period of Murat the 4<sup>th</sup>. The people coming from Argyroupoli (*Gümüřhane*) and *Trabzon* to work in the mines openly expressed that they were

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<sup>29</sup> <http://www.gelawej.com/makaleler/S.Yeresimos-PontusMeselesi.htm>

Christians. The Sultan permitted them to construct their church back. Hence, Aya Yorgi got repaired (57-58).

The most significant reason for two hundred years of waiting to change their religion in other words to say that they were Christians was the harsh punishment provisioned by Islam. It was because of "It was the word of Mohammed the Prophet which was valid under all circumstances. Mohammed the Prophet says that although loyal Muslims should show respect to Christians and Jews, any Muslim leaving Islam and preferring any of these two religions or any other religion would get his head cut off" (Andreadis, 1999a: 23). They kept secrecy for fear of death. Technically, apostasy means to leave a religion. A believer may once have been a member of a faith, and then may cease to believe or to convert his/her faith to another one. According to Warraq (2004) the one who turns from Islam to unbelief is called as Arabic *kufir*, or *ridda* and from Islam to another religion is called as *irdidat*. However any verbal denial of any principle of Islam is considered as apostasy. It is clear that an apostate must be executed. Sura II. 217 is interpreted by the founder of Sunni Islam al-Shaffii as a punishment for apostate: "...But whoever of you recants and dies an unbeliever, his Works shall come to nothing in this world and the next, and they are the companions of the fire for ever".

Although the execution for the apostasy in Islam is not in accordance with the Koran, the Prophet Mohammad did kill a number of people who left the Islam. Therefore the punishment is the Sunnah (actions and sayings of Mohammed) and the Shariah, the Islamic Law. Other source for the punishment is the hadith, which are sayings and actions of the Prophet Mohammed. According to the Peace Encyclopedia, Muslim 623 The Prophet said: "It is not permissible to take the life of a Muslim except in one of the three cases: the married adulterer, a life for a life (if the person is Muslim), and the deserter of the Islam."<sup>30</sup> For this reason, in spite of the existence of the secret places of worship in every house, there were no visible churches or mosques in Krumni in the 1970s. Entered through a secret

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<sup>30</sup> <http://www.yahoodi.com/peace/apostacy.html>

door, these temples are filled with necessary materials for the religious praying ceremonies of the Christians. Nevertheless, they wear like the Ottomans and live in similar houses to the Ottoman's to pretend that they were Muslims (Andreadis; 1999a: 26).

In his article broadcast on the Internet, Şener claims that, the Greek people living in *Trabzon, Rize, Ordu* and *Samsun* became apostasies and the most radical mullahs of the province *Of* were of the Pontus origins. The only exception of this situation was the people from the province of *Of* according to Andreadis. He supports the idea that they were Islamicized and then Turkicized after forgetting their Greek origins.<sup>31</sup> Yerasimos, on the other hand, explains that *Tzan* and *Laz* groups accepted Islam after Turkish conquests. He defends that some of the people living in *Of* had become the Christians and some of them had a belief mixing the two religions with the rising of the Greek nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>32</sup>

It was not that easy for the Pontus people in fact to live as the hidden Christians as punishments were severe, they would not reveal their religion or disclose everyday practices like weddings and funerals. The issue of taking and giving girls became painful since they refused to become Turks. They strove hard not to give their girls to the Ottoman since if they did so; the girls would belong to the groom's family and become a Turk. On the other hand, the girl or the bride taken from the Ottoman people would never be refused. Nevertheless, brides and 12-14 year old girls brought from the Ottoman were "not allowed to have intercourse with their husbands before the psychological pressure on converting them to Christianity was completed. The bride was baptized and had the right of having intercourse with the groom only after the ritual of baptizing." (Andreadis, 1999a: 34)

Another issue is funerals. They secretly went to grave and say Christian prayers for the funerals, which were practiced according to Muslim principles. Moreover, the author says that *Krumni* people were the Christians secret and made Muslims

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<sup>31</sup> <http://www.turkhaber.org/101.html>

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.gelawej.com/makaleler/S.Yeresimos-PontusMeselesi.htm>

quite angry when they openly expressed their beliefs after 1856. But the deceived position of the Ottomans and the Muslims living in the region for two hundred years was not mentioned. On the contrary, they complained about the new rules and having the brand of villain when they expressed their Christianity due to the freedom and rights given to them. It was because their very ordinary wish, praying for the soul of their ancestors, was taken away from them. They were definitely not permitted to go into the Muslim cemeteries and to pray there (Andreadis, 1999a: 71).

One year later after signing the Firman of the Reformation on February 17, 1856, due to the international pressure, 150 persons declared their Christianity. Andreadis says, "when the Sultan signed the decision giving the right to every Ottoman subject to choose the religion they wanted, he did not take the secret Christians into consideration (1999a: 73). On March 1857, 150 persons came up under the leadership of Rüstem Pasha. They initiated a campaign for collecting money by gathering representatives and 18,700 piasters were collected. Their committee went from one consulate to the other demanding their support. The English consulate gave their support.

Bozkurt underlines that a serious damage was given to the institution of *zimnet* by bringing up the principle of equality on duties and rights. Military service became obligatory while recruitment of becoming Muslim to work for the Ottoman state service was abolished (1996: 25). With the reforms beginning from 1854, two significant applications for non-Muslim people in the Ottoman society were abolished: *Cizye*, the tax taken for the heads of the non-Muslims and the decision forbidding taking the non-Muslims under the military service. However, the decision on taking the non-Muslims to the military service could not be applied, but later, it would be accepted that they could be exempted from the military service by paying its equivalent sum (Lewis, 1998: 584). The English Consul thought that the Pontus people's explanations were extremely "opportunistic and insincere and the reason behind this was merely to be exempted from the military service. It was because of the fact that the Muslim Krumni people had to do their military service after the Sultan had the mines closed." (Andreadis, 1999a: 74). In July 15, 1857 the Krumnis signed an announcement called *Epitropikon*

(guardianship) showing their attachment to the Eastern Orthodox Church.<sup>33</sup> The work often expresses the malicious actions through which people opened up themselves upon the equality provided by the Firman. On the contrary, their demand for independency in a period of the rise in nationalism was not mentioned. Getting the support of the consulates, conducting actions by collecting money from them were expressed, but the real tendency was concealed.

Yerasimos talks about the existence of two main tendencies in the Orthodox Church. The first one is neo- imperialist approach. It is a liberal tendency including all the Greeks attached to the newly established state of Greece in addition to the land of the Balkan Peninsula. The other one is the establishment of the Byzantium Empire under the control of the Orthodox Patriarch within the hierarchy of the church. For that reason, the community of Greek Partriarchate in *İstanbul* was not pleased with the existence of Greece, which attached every metropolitan it took over from the Ottoman to the independent church under its own control. The Pontus people seemed to have this second tendency. Ghermanos Karavangelis as the *Amasya* metropolitan responsible from *Samsun* supported this tendency and established armed militia forces especially after the 1908 revolution.<sup>34</sup> This region witnessed quite hot struggles and the Russian invasion in the period beginning from the open expression of the Christianity almost until the establishment of the Republic. The Pontus people wanted to be independent from the Ottoman, which they believed made them slaves and they strove to rescue themselves from slavery and captivity. The increase in the nationalist movements

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<sup>33</sup> The text of the document is given below (Andreadis, 1999a: 75):

By formal this sealed written guardianship, citizens of Trabzon and Khalidya Archbishopric and we as the habitants of Krumni, Sanda, Kovasa, Parti, Yağlıdere, Stavrin, Muzena, Stylou, Haravas, Tanturlu, Pontilas, Tharsas, Agursas, Lacharanis, Kapıköy, Galianas, Hatsaveras, Kavaras and as of other villages, as an only voice, attain Mustafa Tosunoğlu and the son of Tosunoğlu Mustafa Yazıcı for defending us on any issue which they may be questioned in İstanbul.

We declared to the people whose names mentioned above that we do everything that they perceive as necessary to reveal our religion we concealed until today. For that reason, we demand honorable English, French, Austrian, Russian and Greek Consulates in Empire to accept them on the basis of this document.

We signed formal this guardianship for their use in any of the courts related with any kind of lawsuits.

Trabzon, July 15, 1857

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.gelawej.com/makaleler/S.Yeresimos-PontusMeselesi.htm>

began with the Balkan war and the striving for becoming independent from the declining Ottoman Empire with the Russian support were the issue that left out.

The most significant issue that should not be ignored among these events lived which took place in the Reformation period is the chaos-taking place in everywhere. The letter sent by the English Ambassador of the period explained by Bozkurt (1996: 27) to the English Ministry of Foreign Affairs is quite meaningful. The document is about the application of reforms in Hallopi.

Renewals about the tax issue made people pleased to a great extent. The Muslim local governor wants to attain a Christian assistant. If a Christian becomes local governor in the future, a Muslim would become the assistant of the local governor. Zaptieh is taken from Christians. However, they are blamed with not obeying authorities and avoiding from taking guilty Christians under arrest. A Government Assembly was established in the province of Zeytin... Big majority of Christians are not educated as much to see the advantages of military service for them... Christian people give the sum paid for exemption from military service and do not go under military service. Muslims (*redif*) on the contrary have to leave their families for three years. Turkish people also do not understand the reforms much. The thing that they want is not new organizations but the betterment of their personal conditions.

This letter makes us understand the situation created by the change of the social structure. The dhimni people on the other hand started to take active part in governmental issues. Another letter sent to Marquis Salisbury by Layan includes statistical information about the Muslim and the non-Muslim superior governors. For example, there are 8 Greeks, 1 Armenian, 1 Bulgarian, 1 Catholic, 2 Jewish persons in the senators and ministers (Şimşir, 1986: 354). When the political power united with the rights and freedom, the rise of the national identities accelerated. It eased their stepping on the way to the independence.

#### **4.2.2. Religion, Independence, Capital**

Two works analyzed under this title deal with Greeks living in the Aegean shore. The first one is Satiriou's *Farewell Anatolia*. The experiences of the main character, Manuli during his work in the Worker Battalions has traces of the discourse of religion. Uncle Ali, the owner of the farmstead is a good-natured man, he always sends food to the field with his daughter. His daughter and Manuli

are attracted to each other and they make love. This is quite bothering for Manuli since even falling in love with a Turk who is the “other” is itself frightening. Manuli is afraid that his adventure will cause him to take other ways, which means that he is “afraid of being forced to become Turkish” and he runs away from the farmstead (99). The implied thing here is that, the determinant of the Greek identity is the Christian religion even to the extent of being the most important agent of the identity. Being a Muslim is identified with being Turkish and they exist as the Christian Greeks as opposed to the Turkish people who constitute the other.

Again working in the Worker Battalions, Manuli was sent to the village he lived in order to demand food as an exchange of the baskets knitted by *Takhtadjy* (*Tahtacı*)<sup>35</sup> people. The character of the work learns that Takhtadjy people were *Rafizi* i.e. *Yörük* people and like the Kurdish people they have sympathy for the Christians. Hence, Manuli was able to enter into village without being afraid. The thing that was not told here is that a Greek going to any Muslim village may be killed because of his/her Christian identity. In the works of Armenians as in the works of Greeks, secret Christians who were attached to Christianity by their heart even if they pretend changing religion were not stressed. Takhtadjy example is used to take this stress even further since Takhtadjy people present a divergent version of Islam since they drink alcohol. This situation is pushed through the idea that they could be secret Christians.

The Turkish image is so identified with being Muslim that everything outside of this image, for instance being a Muslim and drinking *rakı* and vine, is not in accordance with Greek people’s Turkish image. For that reason, Takhtadjy have been considered as a Muslim community concealing their Christian religion.

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<sup>35</sup> Ergin who collects the studies about Takhtadjy people explains that studies between 1880 and 1890 reflect only the image of takhadjy whose reality is arguable. Some of the studies says that they are the continuation of Lykiens while some of them saying that they were the old people of Çepni and Asia Minor or they were Hytitiens who were the oldest people of Anatolia returned from Christianity (January, 1995: 48-49). In his another study Ergin underlines that Takhtadjy people were identified with different identities in the historical process and they were transferred to Gypsy or Iran population after stopping their relationships with Sunni people as a result of Ottoman’s pressure (January 1996: 50). See Ergin Journal of Toplumsal Tarih, 1996, 28: 58-64 for the discussions about whether or not they were Yörük or Turkoman people.

In the Battalion, Hasan's son Grigori, a villager from Mardin, talks as: "In our country,...many of the villages got established by force. Turkish people were cutting the tongues of villagers who spoke the Greek language; that is why they got Turkish names. But their hearts stayed all the same. In the time of *Teşkilat-ı Esasi*, in 1909, they were deceived with Young Turks promise of all kinds of freedom, they revealed their real identities..." (29). We come across with the theme of secret Christianity in the period of the Second Constitutional Monarchy together with the themes of revealing self due to promised freedom and being deceived. The expectation of the increase of the freedom and liberty in the time of 1909 *Teşkilat-ı Esasi* at the end of approximately 30 years of despotism of Abdülhamit was quite high. Ali Münif Bey quotes that the decision of liberty was declared by telegraph and people celebrated this by amusing with drums. People gathered in the public square and photographs were taken in this exciting day in *Ferzarik* located between *Üsküp* and *Petroviçe*. The most significant photograph was the photo showing "the Mufti of Köprülü with the priest as kissing each other" (Toros, 1996: 38). That is because everybody was equal, free and they were brothers and sisters. Nevertheless, this theme of being liberated became the cause of the unconcealment of the concealed religious worships. It seems that there exists a state governed together anymore rather than a center of power to be scared of. However, later on the situation turns upside down and the balloon of social unity and cooperation would loose air and collapse before being filled with air. Likewise, Ceyhan makes his father overhear this chat in his work: The commander of the police station has extreme complaints about the applications of the unionists; he blames them for "wasting the motherland". Throughout their 8 years of reign, they always came up with wrong decisions, "Liberty, Liberty" but they "drowned out all the liberty at hand" (Ceyhan, 1999: 48). The commander cannot prevent himself from saying that the price for is too high:

German capital, Doyçebank, is so tricky that, brought unionists, who already dance without music, into dancing by playing and playing music for years. For the love of panturkism, the country was hunged up and spread out. But, does not the old wolf who know drags the country for thirty years by panturkism know? If I say that you, the God's clumsy persons, it would be quite less, you the idiots. The Germans would not only get killed millions of Turkish sons but also spend the country in vain and then, would give Baghdad, Caucasia, Iran, Turan to you? ... The pain of these wolves is to share the petrol. You lied down and slept on the deserts for three hundreds of years. You were not able to make the machine, to establish the factory, what would you do with the petrol? If you put the hundreds of years of the politics of benefiting from balance among the states, these hungry wolves would eat you up (47).

On July 23, 1908 the Constitutional Monarchy was declared Union and Progress at the Monastery. Abdulhamid's despotism was given up and young military officers declared liberty. Akşin clearly explains that official members of Union and Progress living in Rumelia carried out the movement and they appropriated the name of Union of Progress for the sake of providing an external connection to the movement in addition to their respect for the tradition (1987: 77). Upon these events, the parliament that was closed by Abdülhamit in 1878 was reopened and the Constitution was put in practice with the *Hatt-ı Hümayun* sent by the Sultan. This presents new rights and freedoms for the subjects. According to Yücekök, the decisions like searching and arresting were based on the law whereas the rights of the press and traveling were put under guarantee and everybody was accepted equal before law. In this period, the Union and Progress stops staying concealed and turns into the will of people that acts like the spokesperson as opposed to absolutism (1984: 35). Nevertheless, the regime of the Second Constitutional Monarchy ends up in a degeneration turning into a military oligarchy as a result of the disability of its defenders in addition to the extent of the danger in and outside the country with the Ottoman's military defeat (Lewis, 1988: 210).

Multiplying the announcement coming that was sent to sub-governor and sticking it on all of the walls proclaimed the declaration of the liberty. The sub-governor sends the text coming from *İstanbul* to Alpviadis with one of the son's of the feudal lord. The letter written half in Turkish and half in the Greek language:

The cabinet of the Union and Progress, constituted of Enver Bey, Niyazi Bey, Cavit and Talat Beys, takes an oath today. The regime of cruelty was ended by today. We are all brothers and sisters. In this country, in Turkey, there are no Bulgarian, Greek, and Romanians anymore, neither there are Muslim and Hebraic. Under this blue sky, we are all proud of being Ottomans. Signature by: Enver Bey (Manglis, 1998:152).

The letter read makes everybody bewildered. They cannot believe in what they have heard. If Young Turks were sincere, what the Red Fox, Sultan Abdülhamid, would do? The interests of every ethnic group depended on *Yıldız Palace* (Star Palace) and the letter was saying that everybody, regardless of their religions, was equal (Manglis, 1998: 152)

In Manglis' *The Sons of Agha from Islands to Bodrum*, the issue of the religion has been examined in detail. Profound insights on religion, peoples and liberty are

at stake. The author, who we presume, comes from the Marxist tradition, uses the concept of “class” and expresses the idea that religion is necessary for masses via the character of his work Nikolas. As mentioned in the third section, the novel takes place in *Bodrum*, *Karada*, Twelve Islands and *İzmir* and it narrates the story of a rich Greek family between the years of 1869 and 1922. The family comes together with official authorities like the sub-governor or the despot quite frequently. The subject of these chats is generally about religion.

In one of the chats mentioned above, the sub-governor and the Despot talk about the chain of order and command as well as the religion. Sub-governor questions why God does not make people happy and mentions that it is the law of nature that the powerless should obey the powerful. He states that he himself takes the order from Abidin Pasha, the local governor of the Islands and puts these orders into practice and hence, everybody is giving explanation to his own chief. Marx states his ideas on religion in “On the Jewish Question” and the critics of Hegel’s “Philosophy of Right”. Jewish emancipation and emancipation in general could not be realized achieved by enlarging political rights. The French state and the North American states were constitutional states. They were responsible for the “incompleteness of political emancipation” (McLennan, 2000: 50). So the state was a main factor contributing the limits of political emancipation. Since the state “could free itself from religion without its citizen being freed. Indeed, the existence of religion was thereby presupposed, as was the existence of private property by its abolition as a qualification for voting”. This situation created a dual personality for human being. While the communal life is based on the constitutions and the citizenship, the real life “isolated individuals involved in the economic war of all against all” (2000: 7). Religion, as an illusion for the isolated individuals, provides certain reasons and excuses to keep society functioning under the constitutional structure, just as it is.

When these words are combined with Marx’s definition of the religion, we can conclude that the author has developed a Marxist approach about religion. The reproduction of the social life by the obedience of the powerless to the powerful presents the social purpose of the religion. Existence of religion, for Marx, is “the existence of a defect, the source of this defect can only be sought in the nature of

state itself" (McLennan, 2000: 51). Religion is a basis for secular deficiencies in the state. Therefore, religious prejudice of citizens are prejudice of secularism. The relationship of political emancipation to religion is "a question of the relationship of political emancipation to human emancipation"(51). The Marxian perspective to religion should be evaluated under his general theory of society. For him the religion reflects the society. The religion is a human product and is a false consciousness that "the product of those in power –those who control the productive forces" (Swatos).<sup>36</sup> The religion always supports the mechanism for the legitimacy of the exploiter and exploited. The religion is the expression of the distorted self-consciousness of the person. The religion is the distorted state of the human existence since the society is distorted. Because of this, the religion is a reflection of the society. For Marx, the religion was "the heart of a heartless world, is the opium- analgesic- of the miserable masses". For this reason, the cutting of the religion from its roots would be possible by the restructuring of the society, hence the humanity would be liberated by realizing its highest potential (Bottomore, 1991: 137). Besides,

a vital or physical strength needs spreading. Turkey as a big power was spread through other countries and people. They can enrich and have a good life under our government; nevertheless they want something else more. What is that they want? You told it Despot, Liberty, which means being liberated. However, it is not a tangible thing, is there something like that? I do not know. Poets and fairy tale tellers invented it. Where there is social classes and discipline, freedom can not exist there" (Manglis, 1998: 20).

The son of the Agha, Nicolas, agrees with kaimakam's idea. If their workers and people assisting in the farm in return for a share of crop wanted, their freedom the situation would go bad. Poor people had to work for their lord, "had to increase the property of their lord. God, in which he believes deeply created the world as it is. Even Aristo tales the Great said so" (1998: 20).<sup>37</sup> There are three main points of stress in Marx's analysis of religion: the first one is completely about that religion is irrational, a delusion of appearances that avoids recognizing underlying realities. To struggle against religion is the illusionary happiness of people, which means a demand for real happiness (Ling, 1980: 16). For Marx, religion is "the

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<sup>36</sup> <http://hrr.hartsem.edu/ency/Marx.htm>

<sup>37</sup> Manglis Yannis (1979, translation into Turkish 1998). The Children of the Feudal Lord, the novel explains the period from 1869 to 1922, Ottoman's last period, coming of the Union and Progress into power, the war with the world and the following establishment of Turkey. For a detailed information see the Methodology chapter.

sign of oppressed creature, the feeling of heartless world, and the soul of soulless circumstances. It is opium of the people" (McLennan, 2000: 72). The same point can be mentioned about the discussion of the liberty. If religion did not exist, people would want freedom and social classes would be the agent of providing this. Besides, again if the religion did not exist, villagers would not work for their lords and would not increase their wealth. This is related to the concept of alienation / or externalization of the worker. Labor is exterior to worker which does not belong to workers essence. It is compulsory, forced labor. Marx explains the political economy in relation to the laws of alienated labor. Private property and materials are the expression of people's alienated life. All products; religion, family, and state are under the movement of production and consumption. For him, the abolition of private property and appropriation of human life is "the positive abolition of all alienation, thus in return the return of man out of religion, family, state, etc. into his human; i.e., social being" (2000: 98). The existence of the religion maintains the reproduction class identification by individuals and prevents them from being liberated. Despot stresses that the liberty he is talking about is the spiritual liberty and steps back by saying that, "we do not have any complaints and the God is merciful, and let God give a long life to our sublime Sultan Abdulhamid Khan. I mean another kind of liberty: Spiritual Liberty". The irrational and delusionary structure of the religion was implicitly underlined in Despot's explanation. The important thing is the maintenance of existing social structure. Two other criticisms of Marx were about religion's being "complete negation of all that is dignified in a human being" and it's being "fundamentally hypocritical". The religion does not accept the human self-consciousness as its highest divinity. While prophets were praying God to help poor people, the Christian Church enslaved humanity for hundreds of years with the state of Rome. In the work, the speech between Despot and the person representing the state makes the stress upon the cooperation between the state and the man of religion clear.

Nikolas, on the other hand, defines both the sub-governor and the Despot as insincere persons. Thinking that, "He knew both quite well, they were ready to forgive you when you put a good tip in their hands. In addition to this, to step over

the laws made either by God or by human beings” Nikolas compares the Koran and Bible as:

Many of its aspects go hand in hand with Bible. They want love and kindness to be shown to human beings. And there exists their illness of metaphysical secrecy. However, in the past, Mohammed and his believers were taking their knives out when they were met with difficulty. It is the same in the Bible too. Jesus says that: “Do you think that I came to bring well-being to the world? Not well being, I came to bring the sword. I came to world to drop fire upon it, if it reached from now on, what else I would want? Because three persons would be against the two, two against the three living in the same house anymore. And in some other place, he gives this advice and order to his students: “Who has a small moneybag, should take it and who has the bigger one should take too. One without a sword should sell his wearings and buy a sword.” The Bible of Lukah says like this. (Manglis, 1998: 21)

Life in the Islands was in peace; the difference of religion and worship was not a problem at all. The hodjas in the Mosque give the call to prayer by saying [t]he God is great”. Hodja who gives the call to prayer five times a day and the believers realize their worshipping. According to the author, “[t]herefore, everybody, the people and the God have been satisfied”. The people of the Island with women, men and children, Armenian and Greek begin to work in the early hours of the morning and work “as brothers and sisters in all their poverty” (Manglis, 1998: 47). Even though life was lived in fraternity in the Island, the competition between religions was implicitly worked through. In the work, there are jokes about religion reflected upon social life. When the sky thunders and flashes, a Cretan shepherd gets angry with the *yörük* saying “Mohammed is running after Jesus” and, “Mohammed is running after Jesus on his horse... the Animal is running in the sidewalks of the sky and his horseshoes are striking against the stones of Malta. Then, his horseshoes are sparkling, then the a flash comes out, the sky begins to thunder.” The Cretan shepherd replies “Eh, *my* fool, the son of a bitch, is this a talent what your Mohammed, did mounted on his horse but he could not catch Jesus walking in barefoot” (Manglis, 1998: 60)

Manglis continuously makes his hero Nikolas to talk about the religion. According to Nicolas, questioning what is religion, “if the religion is really an inspiration coming from God, then which religion is better when compared to the other, how religious men distort the real religion?” Continuing his questioning, Nikolas chats with Frenchmen who came to the Islands for the management of mines. A Frenchman defends that religion is indispensable saying that religion suppresses

lusts and calms instincts and the other talks about the good aspects of every religion. It is especially stated that Catholicism in Christianity considers “the soul and the human being as very important”. According to this idea, Christianity saved the soul. Nikolas turns the discussion about the competition between different Christian sects into another direction. At that point, Nikolas underlines that Christianity turns the soul into a slave. He talks about Hades (the God of the Underground), one of the gods in the Greek mythology. Ignoring the delicate and moderate aspects of Hades, “uneducated and ill-mannered” Christian people “who were inflicted by an evil eye because of their poverty made him full of monsters, caldrons with fire burning under, hot iron bars and many other sadistic tortures”. According to Nikolas, on the contrary, a person who has a free soul is a happy person. His atheistic thoughts do not have its place neither in Christian nor in Islamic thought (1998: 53). In accordance with Greek identity, the Greek mythology provides a stronger basis of affiliation much more than the one, which the religion could provide. Even though it is not clearly expressed in the work, he criticizes the religion and the social structure with the comfort of being attached to a philosophy whose roots went back to thousands of years ago and an illuminated nation, which directed religion.

The discussion continues and somebody gives this example as opposed to an ancient Greek thought: “If you have two shirts, you should give one of them to the one who has none”. In the work, it is stressed that this thought reflect a utopia. Following a materialist approach, the author makes Nikolas say: “Utopia. Neither me, nor you, nor any other person would give the extra one to another person if we had two shirts”. He explains that according to scholars of religion, such stories are not trustable since they were put in the Bible fifty years after the third century (Manglis, 1998: 54). Nevertheless, Nikolas tries to please governors as his guests: “He knew that he had to establish good relationships with the governing class. Three kinds of persons were holding the world as it is and they were bowing people’s heads: The governors, the men of religions and the feudal lords (1998: 55).

The religion has been created under the conditions of the historical systems of exploitation as a consequence of distress including transvaluation and

resentment. For Marx, in order to create a free society, the effect of religion should be eliminated. Transvaluation is a compensatory mechanism for the development of religion. When lower class people confronted with some problems and feeling powerless, they give positive meanings to the conditions in which those problems arise (Swatos). For instance turning the other cheek. In the work, Mohammed and Jesus were compared in the speeches discussing about the relationship between the religion and the capital. Nikolas argues that Jesus had never worked and because of this, he was a builder of castles in the air. He claims that he said, “[I]f you have two shirts, you should give one of them to the one who has none”. On the contrary, Mohammed passed his half-life as a trader; he bought commodities and gave the explanation of it to his wife. He quotes them Mohammed said: “If you have forty animals, do not give them to anybody, you keep them. If you have forty-one animals, you give this one to poor people as a present” and “Control your account at the end of the year and give one tenth of your revenue to the poor ones” (Manglis, 1998: 55). By this mechanism, the religion internalizes the people as opposed to their own interest, but interest to ruling class. For Marx, religion teaches the people to be obedient to authority, so they will have future happiness through salvation. Moreover, religion functions as an ideology. The Church uses religion for transformation of ideas. Since religion adds legitimacy to ideas, by doing so it strengthens the power of ruling class’s hegemony and enhances their economic position (Swatos).

The explanation about the religion in the work supports Marx’s criticism of the religion. In its historical process, the religion an institution of superstructure, which bowed people’s heads in a voluntary fashion and legitimized the social structure. The threesome of the feudal lord, the religious man despot and the governor (*kaimakam*) were made to speak about religion in the work defends the legacy of the social order and the religion was realizing its the duty to put people into sleep within the legitimate social system. An internationalist discourse concerning the equality of the people dominates the work of Manglis rather than the Greek nationalism defined by the Hellenistic culture.

The space of achieving the peoples’ equality becomes concrete by the nation-states, which assumes that everybody is equal on the basis of the citizenship. The

emergence of the nation state on the other hand, is possible by ignoring other nations included in its territory and by reorganizing them on the basis of any of the concepts like the citizenship, the dominant ethnic identity. As we have seen in the discourse of the exile, nations living together for hundreds of years have been separated from each other by use of various methods. Each separated nation has cleaned its past to the zero point, and rewritten their past with the nation-state. In other words, their social memories were re-established. In accordance with Renan's definition of the nation established upon the past and the future (1882, quoted from Smith & Hutchinson, 1994: 17), the target was to become of a contemporary nation, which had great successions despite of all the past, celebrated victories and great pains. To achieve this target, the victories and winnings came to front in the process of the nation-state were put in the front by forgetting the period lived and shared with other ethnic groups. In the newly established nation-states, the periods lived with different ethnic groups were put aside outside of the history. At the same time, people not included by the ethnic group including the majority of the people were otherized and excluded from the re-constructed discourse of the history. The exile is among the method of excluding the ethnic groups, which cannot be assimilated in the process of the establishment of the nation-state. This method on the contrary caused to strengthening of the ethnic attachment of the other and to the rise of the nationalism. The most significant agent of defining the self-ethnic identity in the process of becoming a nation is the religious identity.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE PERIOD OF EARLY TURKISH REPUBLIC

As discussed in previous chapter, there are two leading discourses, the exile and the religion in the analyzed literary works, which constitute our archive in the period of the late Ottoman Empire. In this chapter, four leading discourses are determined in the analysis of the literary works. In contrast to previous chapter where different works are used for the analysis of the discourse on the religion, in this chapter only one work is used to support each specific discourse: The catastrophe of the Asia Minor, the population exchange, the events of the September 6-7, the tax on wealth and earnings and so forth.

The analysed works present certain cross-sections from certain periods. The literary works of the Anatolian Greeks concentrate on the armistice years or on the population exchange while the Armenian works concentrate on the period of the Second World War and explain the events of September 6-7 in addition to the tax on wealth and earnings. With the events of September 6-7, the population of Anatolian Greeks decreased to a great extent and they turned into a closed community. Historical line of Anatolian Greeks' stories came to end by the population exchange. Few Anatolian Greeks who immigrated to Greece have written about their experiences in Anatolia. So, the events in the period of the multi-party political system are narrated in the literary works of the Armenian people who have continued to live in Turkey. There are two major discourses in these works, such as exile and religion, which discuss the influence of the reform movements in the *Tanzimat* period upon the non-Muslim people. In the previous chapter describing the period of the late Ottoman Empire. In this chapter, a discussion about the influence of the War of Independence following the end of the First World War upon the non-Muslim people would be discussed again within the contexts of the ethnic identity and nationalism. In the literary works used as our archive, there is no strict historical period of time, for that reason, it is possible sometimes to go backwards historically. Since most of the Anatolian Greek literary works are in the form of oral history, they provide detailed information about the

above mentioned events that were explained historically in addition to information about the occupation of *İzmir*, about the catastrophe of the Asia Minor and, about the Great Population Exchange.

Although our title for this chapter is the Period of Early Turkish Republic, the analysis begins by the end of the First World War. The end of the First World War, the years of the population exchange, the leadership of Mustafa Kemal and the population exchange constitute the first historical category of the analysis. Our second historical category includes: the collection of the Tax on Wealth and Earnings in the years of the Second World War; the Events of 6 – 7 September in 1955 connected with the Cyrus problem, and the deportation of the Anatolian Greeks away to Greece in 1964. In this chapter, the works covered by the analysis are Çerkezian's *The World is Enough for All*, Kebabcıyan's *Talk Mr. Halil Talk*, Satiriou's *Farewell to Anatolia*, and Andreadis' *Tamama*, Dukas' *The Memoirs of a Captive*, and Manglis' the *Sons of Agha from Islands to Bodrum*

### **5.1. The Catastrophe of the Asia Minor**

The Catastrophe of Asia Minor is the name given by the Greek to the War of Liberation fought by the Turks and named as “The Grand Victory” by the Turkish people. Under this title, the events that took place after the end of the First World War and the events preparing the Catastrophe of the Asia Minor, the rising star of Mustafa Kemal, the occupation of *İzmir* and the events giving an end to the Greek occupation of *İzmir* are explained.

The death of sick man and the newly rising resistance movement in the Anatolia as well as the rise of Mustafa Kemal who was victorious in Gallipoli are narrated in the works. In the year 1918, armies of the Entente Powers were marching ahead and “the Sick Man”<sup>1</sup> was approaching death quite rapidly. The First World War had come to an end by the defeat of the Ottoman Empire. The defeat caused the

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<sup>1</sup> Dumont explains the metaphore of the sick man. There was a vicious circle; the applied reforms such as *Tanzimat* led the non-Muslims to come up with the new demands. The reforms, at the time had the function of preventing the Empire from collapsing. The empire in this vicious circle is sick from now on. The European great states perceive this situation as worrying. The words of the Tsar Nikola the First said to Sir Hamilton Seymour, the English Ambassador, during a festival in the house of the Grand duchesse Helene in 1853, was the source of this metaphore: “We have got a quite sick man in our arms...in one of these days, especially before taking all the necessary precautions, if our sick man dies it would be a great disaster!” (1995: 113). Nevertheless, the interventions made caused much greater disasters. The external interventions accelerated the dissolution further.

appointment of a new sultan and a new grand vizier for the throne of the Empire (Lewis, 1988: 239). Mustafa Kemal who became the representative agent of the Turkish nationalization process later abolished the Ottoman dynasty, as the founder of the Turkish Republic.

According to Manglis, the author of the *Sons of Agha*, the factor that accelerated the events was the hypocritical attitude of the Sultan Abdulhamid. We often see that the Anatolian Greek works mention Abdülhamit as the Red Sultan. While the Young Turks was accepted the Second Abdülhamit's Panislamist policies as the Red Sultan's policies, he was considered as "the Sublime Khan" by those who supported the politicization of the Islam. Events like the death of his uncle Abdulaziz as soon as he was dethroned in 1876, Murat the Fifth's insanity who succeeded Abdulaziz affected the psychology of Sultan Abdulhamid and this influence has been reflected the policies he applied. His period is commemorated with the censorships and espionage (Karakışla, 2002: 18). What is not openly mentioned in these works Abdülhamit's suspension of reforms. He is held responsible for speeded up the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. The author does not discuss whether the conditions were suitable for the application of the reforms but he emphasizes the problems caused by the suspension of reforms.

As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, when the Constitution was declared in 1876, the gathering of a council comprising representatives elected by the people was planned. According to Manglis (1998: 154), the author, Abdülhamit the fox gains power by mixing his power with his cunning mind and takes the upper hand. The Sultan is presented as the representative of the despotic regime. On the contrary, according to Karakışla, the Sultan Hamid followed a systematic balance politics and controlled the Muslim people using his title of the "caliph" while establishing thirty years of despotic regime with the help of over centralist politics in the country and the Ottoman never lost any piece of land in that period while the nationalist movements were shaking Europe (2002: 18). However, this temporary success caused severe losses later on. Karakışla determines that almost all of the foreign debts were paid and the people were living in the prosperity in the period of Abdulhamid. He also mentions that Abdülhamit was

neither the Red Sultan nor the Sublime Khan. At the same time, he explains that Abdülhamit created the social agreement from the point of ethnic groups (19). As opposed to this, and as it was mentioned in the previous chapter, The Public Debt Administration established for the foreign debts made the Empire economically dependant to western powers with the excessive rights (i.e. capitulations).

After the Second Abdulhamid's thirty years of the despotic regime period, the Constitutional Monarchy was declared, in the Monastery, Macedonia and the struggle takes place in the Balkan Peninsula. The Community of the Union and Progress wants Abdülhamit to adapt to this new situation. (Akşin, 1987: 76-77). To force the Sultan on Constitutional Monarchy, the unionist sent an army to *İstanbul*. Manglis illustrates this: "the army of Thessalonika" walks to *İstanbul* to show this loyalty "to the New *Turan*". "The army commanded by Mustafa Kemal surrounds the palace" and the sultan is dethroned. Nevertheless, there is no information about Mustafa Kemal's besieging the *Yıldız* Palace. Then, Instead of Abdülhamid, senile Reşat, who was fond of women and alcohol, was came to power and reigned until 1918 (Manglis, 1998: 154). With the Turkish defeat of the First World War, Mehmet Vahdettin came to the throne instead of Reşat. Here, we see that things that were not done by him, were attributed to Mustafa Kemal in order to make him greater and more legitimate. This historical line had continued until Vahdettin's, the last Sultan and the last caliph, being driven away in 1922 by Mustafa Kemal and the abolishment of the caliphate in 1924. Kemal, the rescuer of the Turkish people put an end to the dynasty and established the new Turkey. Before discussing about the issue of the new Turkey and about the struggle of its establishment, the circumstances preparing the rise of Mustafa Kemal in addition to the discourses in the literary works about this issue have been decribed.

#### **5.1.1. Mané, Thése, Pharés\***

The advance of Mustafa Kemal in his carreer and the beginning of the rapid dissolution process of the Ottoman Empire happened simultaneously. The fall of the Palestine front in the First World War changedthe organizational structure of

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\* Balthazar, the King of Babylon, in one night sees a mysterious handwriting of these words in red letters on the wall of his palace. He asked their meaning to the Prophet Danyal. He explains the meaning of the words as "[i]t was counted, weighed and divided". After a while, the dynasty of Balthazar collapses.

the army and causes conflicts and resignations in the Union and Progress. The commander of the Syria front, Cemal Pasha, resigned. Mustafa Kemal conflicts with the Marshal Falkenhayn who takes the control of the front in his own hands. *Istanbul* government was informed about this conflict, since Mustafa Kemal sent his written report to administrative staff, Talat and Cemal Pashas. The delivery of the report, instead of the commander-in-chief, to them means that Mustafa Kemal neglected the military protocol, (Aydemir, 1988: 104). The assistant of Talat Pasha, Ali Münif Bey, who later became a deputy and then a minister, says that the delivery of Mustafa Kemal's report from this front while Enver Pasha were giving news of the victory is an indicator of the conflicts taking place among the Unionists. There were persons resigning from the cabinet, however, the only resignation of Canpolat was accepted by the Minister of Interior. The news about the distortion of Bulgarian front made obvious the end of war by a defeat. Ali Münif Bey, in his memoir, explained that as a result of the fall of Bulgarian front, Mecid, the heir apparent asked Enver Pasha to resign. The war was lost. "When the foreordained ending was intuitively felt, Talat Pasha left the stage together with the party in power who decided join the war", and the Cabinet of Izzet Pasha was assigned to fill his position (Toros, 1996: 89). The names in the new cabinet were also determined by Talat Pasha, according to Halil Menteşe's article in the newspaper, *Cumhuriyet*, as quoted by Ali Münif Bey. Believing in his patriotism, Talat Pasha appointed him (İzzet Pasha) to in the position of Tefvik Pasha who was in quite old at the time (89-90).

Satiriou, in his work *Farewell Anatolia*, makes his character Manuli say that Talat and Enver Pashas were accepted as villains and that Germans turn into enemies from the position of being fellows and allies. Manuli, who had been in the Worker Battalions during the period just after the end of the war, runs away from the military service, goes to *Istanbul* and stays there for four months. According to Manuli, despite of the defeat of war, Turkish people were in content. On the other hand, the newspapers declared the Entente States as friends (Satiriou, 134-135). Yet, what celebrated here is the end of the war but not the invasion of the Entente States. The new cabinet under the administration of Damat Ferit Pasha had decided to comply with wishes of the occupying forces. Because of the wars fought one after another from the beginning of the century, people had been

collapsed out of exhaustion and the only wish now was to have the peace. Some of the people wanted English protection while some of them wanted France and others wanted Italy as the protector, still others demanded the American mandate (Dumont & Georgeon, 1995: 299).

The Armistice of Mudros<sup>2</sup> was signed at the end of the war for cease-fire with England that represented the Entente Powers. According to Tunçay (1990: 55), the Ottoman Empire hoped that any area except for the Bosphorus Region in *İstanbul* would not be invaded at the time of signing this cease-fire. As a result of the flexible items of the Armistice, the winner states gained a great power of maneuver. "Along with the right to control the railways, the authority to occupy strategically important points was given" (56), and this would result in the Sevres Agreement later on. Two weeks after the armistice, *İstanbul* was occupied. French forces occupied the European side of *İstanbul* and *Toros* tunnels in addition to *Adana*, *Maraş*, *Antep* and *Urfa*; English forces occupied *Beyoğlu* and *Rumelia* region of the *İstanbul* in addition to *Beyoğlu*, *Çanakkale*, *Eskişehir*, *Kütahya*, *Afyon*, *Samsun*, *Merzifon* and *Erzurum*; Italian Forces on the other hand, occupied the Anatolian side of *İstanbul* in addition to the *Kuşadası*, *Bodrum*, *Marmaris*, *Fethiye*, *Alanya*, *Burdur* and *Konya* (57).

In the beginning of 1920s, the new cabinet of the Empire sent the leading Unionists to Malta as exiles. In November 3, 1918 in the Assembly of the Deputies, a commission of inquiry was established to reveal and judge the persons who were responsible for the destruction of the Armenian people.<sup>3</sup> Upon prosecutions continuing until early 1920s, 17 administrators of the Union and Progress were sentenced to death. Since 14 persons ran away, three of them were hung (Hoffman, 2003:15). The fugitive, Talat Pasha, the Grand Vizier and the Minister

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<sup>2</sup> For the Armistice of Mudros, see Bıykoğlu (1962) *The Turkish War of Independence I: The Armistice of Mudros and its Application*.

<sup>3</sup> During these dates, 10 deputies of the Anatolian Greeks declare that they were not going to give the vote of confidence to the cabinet of Damad Ferit since they were not applying the accepted conditions of the cease-fire. On November 4, the proposal was read by Emanoilidi Ef, the *Aydın* deputy. The proposal directs the question of what kind of precautions would be taken about the issues such as the killing of one million Armenians, the appropriation of the properties of the Anatolian Greeks while sending them away out of the country border, the killing of fifty five hundreds thousands of Pontus Greeks in the region of the Black Sea, the exclusion of non-Muslims from trade, the killing of the deputy Zohrab in addition to the deputy Varteks Efendis, the dying of two thousands five hundreds people in the Workers Battalions from hunger, and the entrance to war without any causes to the cabinet. At the same time, this is not the deed of a certain group of people but "a violent flow" representing the period. (Akşin, 1992: 50).

of Interior, was killed in Berlin on March 15, 1921. The killer, Soromon Tehleryan was acquitted by the State Jury Court of Berlin-Charlottenburg.<sup>4</sup> This event was considered as victory by the Armenians (Hoffman, 2003a: 29). According to Hoffman, (2003a: 33) Germany followed an inconsistent politics about the forced emigration of the Armenian people and wanted to straighten the situation after the end of the war since it ignored “the eradication of one people that belong to the Christian religion in the front of the eyes of the countries it was warring against”. Additionally, Germany never protested the decision of the forced emigration; it only protested the bloody events that took place during the forced emigration. Hoffman argues that, many members of the guerrilla forces playing a role in the forced emigration as well as in the massacre had participated the movement of the Independence War. Nevertheless, these persons were executed later on either by the Independence Law Courts or as a result of the attempt of assassinating Atatürk in the year 1926 (2003:24). The Unionists did not want to take the responsibility of the Armenian dispatch and the decision to join the First World War. While they were running away from the country as guilty, Mustafa Kemal rises steadily. This new situation is another discourse coming to foreground in the literary works examined in this study.

### **5.1.2. Mustafa Kemal**

A particular emphasis is given in the literary works to the relationship between the Unionists and Mustafa Kemal. According to Manglis, the author of *the Sons of Agha*, during the Balkan wars, Islamic holy war was declared and thousands of warriors came to help their Muslim brothers. What is emphasized is the idea that all the Muslims can come together under the administration of the Empire in order to help against the rebellious Christians. Nevertheless, as opposed to rising nationalist values, the Ottoman territories and the Muslim subjects of the Empire could not have protected the integrity more than this. The heroes of the wars during this period were Enver the Commander - in Chief and his assistant Mustafa Kemal. Manglis defines the two as “obstinate persons who were burning with ambition, who openly or implicitly were jealous of each other, who hated each

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<sup>4</sup> See Dadrian (2004) *The Institutional Roles in the Massacre of the Armenian People*, and Akhanlı (2003) *The Records of the Trial of Talat Pasha about the trial of the Talat Pasha*.

other” (1998:294). Later on, Çerkezyan made the same point (Mustafa Kemal is being a unionist in the past) while interpreting the events of September 6-7. The policies of the Unionists filled with destruction and massacre were sustained during the Republican period as a heritage from the past. The thing that was not emphasized overtly is that while one ambitious Turkish man caused the country to sink, another ambitious Turkish man helped it to be rescued. Establishing the country only on the basis of the Muslim Turkish people in order not to repeat the mistakes done in the Ottoman period, Mustafa Kemal turned it into a new, homogenized nation-state. Turkey was the country of the Muslim Turkish people from then on.

In the official biographies of Mustafa Kemal, it is quoted as an historical distortion that he was the rival of Enver and he was afraid of Enver. There are similar explanations in the literary works as well. According to Zürcher, this situation should be explained with that Mustafa Kemal was the political and military leader coming after Enver. Based on Mustafa Kemal’s memoir, Zürcher states that he had “the Enver Complex” while emphasizing that there were no proofs showing that Enver had this kind of feelings. Mustafa Kemal was taking part neither in the Union and Progress nor in any other movements at that period (1987: 90-91).

In the literary works taking Pontus Greeks as their subject matter, Mustafa Kemal’s journey to *Samsun* is cited as an important event. Nevertheless, before focusing on this issue, it would be explanatory to mention the beginning of the nationalist struggle and Fevzi Pasha, one of the superior pashas in the Ministry of the War (*Harbiye Nezareti*), claims that himself and Cevat Pasha had already made a program before Mustafa Kemal’s journey to Anatolia. According to this plan, three military inspectorships would be established; the ammunition would be piled up as much as possible in Anatolia for the purpose of not surrendering to them, a National Will would be established in the Anatolia. Besides, it is claimed that, “this plan including the organization of the National Forces (*Kuvayi Milliye*) would be conducted and led by Mustafa Kemal” (Zürcher, 1987: 182-183). It is not known whether this situation had really happened in this period of struggle when the tactical war was its highest level. Nevertheless, it is a fact that Cevat Pasha, delivered his best wishes to Mustafa Kemal before his journey to Anatolia (183). On the other hand, Ali Münif Pasha says, in his memoir, that Talat Pasha did not

have any money to spend during his escape to Germany and he was killed in a state of being flat broke. He even says that in the last year of the war, “he did not accept three hundreds thousands liras, the money sent to Romania to purchase wheat, by his unionist friends who handed this money to him while he was passing to Germany. Battling with Mustafa Kemal, he sent all the money to Anatolia to be spent on the national struggle” (Toros, 1996: 93). We learn that he supported the national struggle, he contended with Cemal and Enver Pashas from Berlin to prevent them from “going to the Anatolia to spoil the national struggle that was on the verge of being completed”, and he had been on the service for the National struggle until the end of his lifetime (94). Supported by these memoires, we can claim that the Union and Progress cooperated with Mustafa Kemal in the period of the national struggle. This cooperation abruptly ended in 1926 when the unionist cadre was cleansed off the republican cadre.<sup>5</sup>

In *the Sons of Agha from Island to Bodrum*, Manglis goes back to the revolution of 1908 to give an account of Mustafa Kemal is life. He says that when the festivals of “the Liberty, the Justice, and the Equality” were finished, the life gained its old rhythm again. There is an implicit reference to the second declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy, celebrated with the great hopes in 1908. “The masters stayed as the masters” and the workers began to go to their work places, as it was in the past. “If the entire nation does not put its heart into the insurrection, that goal would not be achieved. A rebellion is not to explode for a particular moment to stop the pressure going on for the hundreds of years”, if so, people rebel like this either becoming weary or stay indifferent”. For Manglis, two wars (i.e. the war of the Balkan Peninsula and the First World War) had to be lived through and thousands of persons had to die for wakening up of the people. This process resulted in the mass starvation, misery and at the end the nation faced the danger of “being exterminated on the earth as a nation”. “Some day... Atatürk, the son of Ali Rıza, the Albanian small-scale retailer and of Zübeyda, an illiterate Albanian mother, would come and he would rescue this nation” (Manglis, 1998: 189). It is this

[P]erson called as “the Father of the Turks”, “the children of the poor parents called as Kemal in the school crashed the fez, burned the ferace

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<sup>5</sup> For detailed information see Zürcher (1987) *Unionism in the National Struggle*.

(formerly the long, full coat worn by women), hang up the hodjas, established schools and pushed the people to learn reading and writing so that they learn how to think. He rescued Turkey. However, he died before its time and his plans were left in the lurch, others either were afraid of following his plans or they did not want; they put their own interest in front of it. And the betrayed people fall into misfortune again (190)

In the works of the Anatolian Greeks narrating the lives in the Aegean shores, Atatürk is evaluated as the rescuer and the father of the Turks. Although his past connection with the Unionists and his ambitious personality were emphasized, he is the leader who rescued Turkey. Mustafa Kemal who is a different kind of leader realized the revolution for the second time. Nevertheless, the early death of Mustafa Kemal prevented the revolutions from being fully accomplished. According to Manglis, this (semi succeeded revolution) is also a revolution, which did not reach any success.

After Communists consolidated the Soviet authority in Russia, they officially acknowledge Kemalist movement as a movement of liberation. Wilson, the President of the United States of America, at the end of the First World War defined the dynasty imperialism as a traditional diffusionism. According to Wilson, nations demanding their independence should be supported as to break up the empires with a structure of the multi-ethnic identities. New nation-states with their new borders would provide the world peace. Hence, the countries of the world would begin to apply the free trade and would integrate with the world capitalist system (Tünay: 1995:150). However, the Bolshevik movement and the Soviet revolution limited this plan. To hinder the Communist movement, “Three Greats”, USA, France and England supported the states having borders with Russia so that they opt for a liberal regime and called this buffer zone as the “Cordon Sanitaire” (154). The consolidation of the revolution in the Soviet Russia takes time and Stalin realized the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat after bloody internal struggles with the principle of one single revolution in one single country. This situation facilitated the conduct of nationalist struggle in Turkey.<sup>6</sup> Bolsheviks trying to suppress the rebellion of the Armenian revolutionists

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<sup>6</sup> The Soviet Union not only returned back to its internal issues but also supported the Turkish revolution. Timur (1993: 34) states that the Third Communist International gathered in the July 1920 in Moscow emphasized two ideas about the national liberation movements. One of them was offered by Lenin and met with general acceptance. The international communism should support the national liberation wars even

did not have the means to deal with the Turks. They were busy trying to stop their internal disorder and to strengthen their own revolution. Because of this, a new borderline between Turkey and Russia was drawn and Turkey signed the *Gümrü* Agreement (December 3, 1920) with the Soviet Union. As a consequence, Turkey sets aside any attacks coming from the north and from the east during the Independence War. In this period, because of the danger of communism, Turkey tried to gain Germany as an ally using diplomatic methods and supported Germany while the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire were getting separated.

On the other hand, according to Andreadis, the Greek author, Russians defined Greek military expedition of the Asia Minor as a war of "imperialist quality". Yet, when Russia, which was perceived as the rescuer from the point of the Pontus Greeks, left *Trabzon*, and shattered the Pontus people's

dream of the hundreds of years was fallen into ruin once more... The Christians who were living next to the Muslim people and who celebrated their National Resurrection for three years were frightened now. What was going to happen now? After a while, the news reached *Sivas*. The war had ended, the inebriated Russians were gone, Pontus was left to Turks, again (83).

In *Tamama* joyful celebrations in the streets of *Sivas* were narrated. The war ended and the people on exile could now go back to their village. Yet, there were neither villages nor homes that these people could go back to their hometown. Some hours after the beginning of the Exodus, (the great migration), their villages and all their wealth were pillaged. Their homes were burned. "The Pontus people did not know about the evil things that were made. And, more importantly, were there any human beings to come back?" (Andreadis, 1997: 83).

The Pontus people, who had celebrated the invasion of *Trabzon* by Russians as their liberation from the slavery of thousand years, now are defining the Russians as the inebriated people. The Russians did not support them on the way of becoming an independent nation and left them back in the hands of the Turks. In

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though they have the quality of being bourgeois democratic wars. The other idea belongs to the Indian delegate Roy. He wants the support for the national liberation movements made under the leadership of the proletariat. Both ideas were accepted whereas the idea of Lenin has a strong influence. For this reason, the Turkish War of Independence against the Englishmen gained respect and support on the part of Russians.

a time when they were believing that the Ottoman Empire was vanishing, a young military officer had completely changed the situation.

According to Andreadis' novel, *Tolika*, when Mustafa Kemal landed in *Samsun* in May 19, 1919, he was quite famous because of his success in Gallipoli.

Sultan gave him 40.000 golden coins and sent him to stop all the crime and cruelty in addition to reconcile the peoples in Pontus...As soon as he reached *Samsun*, Mustafa Kemal Pasha joined the Young Turks, and increased his fame even further. And revolting against the Sultan, he initiated the National War of Independence ...Later on Mustafa Kemal was going to be given the surname "ATATÜRK" as the chief and the inevitable leader of the Turkish people" (Andreadis, 1999b: 58).

When Mustafa Kemal was sent to *Samsun* as an inspector, the supporters of the Pontus Greeks were waiting for the arrival of the Greeks and they were trying to decrease the number of the Turkish population (Shaw & Shaw, 1983: 408). Mustafa Kemal sent notes to local governors working in the region to explain how the local resistance movements would be organized and how they would resist against the Greeks. The first step for the Independence War was taken (408). In the same period, the Greek invasion was continuing and the Greeks had reached the river of Menderes in 1920s.

In his work, Andreadis mentions rumors about Atatürk. According to the story expressed in the novel, a Pontus hero called as Vasil the Bastard meets with Atatürk. Kemal gets angry with Vasil who walks around with his arms on and slaps him. Vasil is frightened of this soldier of the superior rank who has an extreme self-confidence and goes away. Kemal walks little bit further and meets another Pontus hero called Crazy Sokrat. Kemal also rebukes this man who was on his horse but paves the way after his strong reaction. The author writes that, "If Vasil the Bastard had not controled his temper and drawn his knife", this would mean that Mustafa Kemal would got killed at that moment. Or if Kemal had opposed the horseman in his suit of armor, i.e. Crazy Sokrat, the likelihood of a murder would have been quite high. That would be such a murder that, "the flow of the history could have been changed and Turkey would begin to look for a new Atatürk for itself" (Andreadis, 1999b: 69-70).<sup>7</sup> While the work presenting an oppressed

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<sup>7</sup> The details of the story are in Andreadis (1999b: 69-70). In this region the president was Çavusidis Vasilos who was titled as Vasil the Bastard. The mother tongue is the Turkish Language.

Anatolian Greek in front of Kemal, the secondary characters turn this oppression into the “superiority”. The superiority is emphasized both by the hero on his horse and by the name of the Crazy Sokrat. There is reference to philosopher Socrates who accepted to be poisoned and to go to death by his own will. Moreover, if these superior Anatolian Greeks with a superior identity and roots had killed Kemal, the Turkish people would have lost their leader. Thanks to Kemal, whose life was bestowed by the kindness of Pontus people, Turkish people could have a leader. Furthermore, this kind of stories facilitates the creation of “myths” in the process of national identity construction. Here, it is possible to observe one of the assumptions of ethno-symbolist approach as formulated by Smith. The nations define themselves by using the special culture, myth and symbols that were believed to belong to their ancestors (Smith, 1999c: 10-19). The myth of the brave and reckless Crazy Sokrat placed in opposite position of Mustafa Kemal emphasizes both the Hellenistic roots and cultural characteristics as the source of superiority of Pontus identity.

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Prodromos the priest tells an event. According to the rumors among the people, it happened between M. Kemal and the captains.

“At that moment Mustafa Kemal visits Havza. And together with his soldier friends, he goes to the only hotel in Havza. This hotel was known as “The Hotel of the Despot”...

Mustafa Kemal did not go out of the hotel for three days to consult leading Turkish military officers of the superior rank who support the same cause.

After that, he begins to walk around in the streets of Havza. As a result of an evil coincidence, he meets with Vasil the Bastard. He had his golden bayonet, left from the Russian soldiers, it was a gift given to him by the Çerkes people.

Mustafa Kemal stops Vasil the Bastard with a rough movement of his head and he asks with a quite rough tone of his voice as:

‘Who are you to walk armed around in the bazaar? Who is your commander?’

Bewildered by seeing Turkish superior military officers around him, Vasil the Bastard was only able to say that:

‘Efendi, by the order of the Ottoman State.’

Stopping his speech, Mustafa Kemal slaps him and says that:

‘I will show you what it means to sell snails just next to the minarets...’

‘Get away from my sight’ ... Vasil the Bastard cannot oppose and disappears by riding his white horse off.

Just after going three streets forward, another armed horseman appears in front of Mustafa Kemal. He stops a horseman going to the city center of Havza and asks:

‘Who are you and by whose order are you going to the bazaar with arms on?’

The person who was armed all over gets angry and according to the rumor, he answers Kemal and his wife with the words of:

Actually, who are you suddenly appearing in front of me? When Kemal sees that he is determined, he steps back and let him pass away. He especially turns his head back and watches the horseman going away.

One might that, if as the usual habit, the Vasil the Bastard did not control his temper and drawn his knife becoming resentful, he would get killed at that moment.

Or if Kemal opposed the horseman in his suit of armor, i.e., Crazy Sokrat, the likelihood of a murder was quite high...

That would be such a murder that, the flow of the history could be changed and Turkey would begin to look for a new Atatürk for itself” (Andreadis, 1999b: 69-70).

In the works, the purpose of sending Mustafa Kemal on errand to *Samsun* is presented as an attempt to deal with the Pontus problem. His idea to initiate a nationalist movement is completely ignored. Mustafa Kemal is the leader of the Turkish nationalist movement after the First World War and hence he is the representative of Turkish nationalism at the most superior level. On the other hand, for the Pontus people struggling for their independence, the coming of the father of the Turks to *Samsun* shows the significance of their own nationalist movement. Furthermore, this claim supported with the quoted rumors. The Turkish officer who was not killed by the Pontus people prepared their end and as well as other Greeks living in Anatolia. In brief, according to the author, while Pontus people was on the verge of gaining their independence, the Russian revolution and then the Turkish movement of liberation changed the flow of the history and the Pontus state turned into a dream.

### **5.1.3. The Greek Occupation: “The first generation of the raya who would take the revenge of the blood and tears going on for five centuries”\***

In the work titled as *Farewell Anatolia*, Manuli goes back to his village at the end of the First World War. “ At that moment, a man appears and tells that Turkey resurrected”, the sick man was cured. In this part of the work, the War of Independence had begun and Turkish people were defending the last piece of land left to them with their flesh and blood. Not recognizing the events, Manuli is the first one among five brothers and sisters who comes back his home. He is full of yearning for their past lives (Satiriou, 136). Except for few disabled and elder men, there were almost no men left in the village because of the war. Since the fields turned into graveyards, they spent effort on the land to refresh it (137). Due to the wars continued for a long time, the production completely had ceased and the majority of the male population had been killed in wars. For Manuli, the war ended by defeat represents a war lost by the Muslim people. As a community carrying the identity of Anatolian Greeks, they fell themselves powerful. Manuli says that, “[w]e were not intimidated by the Turkish people anymore. Instead of changing our heads, we changed our roles” (Satiriou, 142).

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\* Satiriou, p. 142. *Beş yüz yıllık kan göz ve yaşının diyetini alacak olan ilk reaya kuşağı*

Germans left their military supplies in the ancient Ephesus and the gendarme who supposed to deliver them ran away. The habitants of the village *Kırkıcı* went to the ancient Ephesus and appropriate the whole military supply in the warehouse. Everybody in the non-Muslim community was full of feelings of revenge after their days passed in the Worker Battalions (140). After hearing that the non-Muslim people were getting armed, Turkish villagers living in the nearby villages abandoned their homes to go to *Söke* and *Kuşadası*. The author describes this period with the words, “the fear was changing its shelter”. The Ottoman had lost the war and the Greeks gained the support of Entente Powers. The non-Muslim population spontaneously annulled its dhimni (*zimni*) status and considered themselves as the original owner of these lands. A polarization between the Muslim and the non-Muslim populations began.

As the Greeks landed on *İzmir*, five Turkish villages nearby were burned down with the feelings of revenge. The arrival of Greek army was met with enthusiasm. The slogan of “our mother Greece” was heard everywhere. The flags hidden in the chests or sewed from the pieces of clothes were hanged. “Suddenly our lives gained an unexpected importance: We were the first generation of the *raya* who would take the revenge of the blood and tears going on for five centuries” (Satiriou, 142). They had become the Greek citizens not the Ottoman subjects anymore. Days, filled with peace and the feeling of togetherness (*beraberlik*), were gone and the Turkish people had turned into others, even the enemies. An enemy that should be cleaned up from the land that is supposed to be theirs.

Under the protection of the Entente Powers, the Greek army lands on *İzmir* in May 1919. Referring to the state of the Ottomans Lewis says: “The disposal of the distant lands on which the stranger nations lived could be endured resignedly, and even the occupation of the capital city could be tolerated”, the occupation of Turkish Anatolia by the Greeks, a neighbouring country and previously dominated nation was “an unbearable danger –and shame -” (1988: 241). It is not a mere coincidence to choose *İzmir* for the occupation. In the Peace Congress in Paris, Greek prime minister, Venizelos claimed a right on the basis of the Greek population living in *İzmir* (241). For the Greeks, this occupation would not be a temporary. Hence, the *Megola Idea* would be realized by the occupation of Aegean region and the Great Greece would be established. Their aim is to realize

the *Megola Idea* (The Great Idea), which means reviving of past magnificence of the Christian Empire of Byzantine (242).<sup>8</sup> King Konstantin is the first Christian empire that went to the Asia Minor after the Crusades with the aim of seizing *Ankara*. As the Greek army goes towards *Ankara*, the Anatolian Greeks living in the Ottoman territories met this situation with enthusiasm. According to Volkan & Itzkowitz (2002: 132), they exhibit an extremely cruel attitude towards the Muslims with whom they lived together for hundreds of years.

One day before the occupation, two proclamations were printed and distributed in the Amalthia Printing Office owned by Sokratis Solomonidis. The first one belongs to Chrisostomos, *İzmir* Metropolitan. It invites the Greeks of *İzmir* to “a divine ceremony”: “The moment that was long waited has come. The demands of centuries are going to be realized. ... the great hope of our race burning our hearts, the hope of integrating with our mother Greek... is becoming real this very day, which should be remembered with history and gratitude, on May 14,...Long live the Nation!” (Berber, 1996: 30). The other proclamation belongs to the commander of occupying army, to Colonel Zairiyu. It explains that the occupation of *İzmir* and its surrounding region was begun as a result of the order of the Greek cabinet and of the approval of the Allies. Colonel Zairiyu states that their aim is to provide all the people with prosperity. He finishes the proclamation saying

the decision of occupying the land, which has its ties with Greece due to the more than one reason, would not change the existing administrative and political structure... I advice all the people without making any discriminations on the basis of race or sect, to work on their business in peace and to securely wait for the decisions of the conference about the future of their beautiful motherland (Berber, 1996: 31).

In the Congress of Paris, Greece voluntarily accepts to occupy Western Anatolia, with this proclamation announces for the first time that it will occupy *İzmir*. In a telegraph sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Venizelos states that the secrecy is a necessary condition for such kind of affairs and he says that: “our preparations would be revealed sooner or later and Turks will be busted without no preparation at all because they won’t even know it” ” (32).

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<sup>8</sup> According to Volkan and Itzkowitz, the roots of the Megola Idea go back to the conquest of *İstanbul* by Sultan Fatih (the Conqueror). Nevertheless, it is an idea whose influence increased during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which helped the national integration of Greeks. This idea supporting the dream of Great Greece turned into a tool of enlargement politics of Greece (2002:106). Besides, this idea is a significant element of the creation of Greek nationalism and had its roots partly from the ancient Greek and partly from the Byzantium (108).

Yet, against their wishes, the invasion did not take place in a state of silence. The Metropolitan Chrisostomos sanctified the Greek soldiers landing in *Punta*. The Metropolitan made a provocative speech followed by demonstrations and festivals. The Greek flags were hung up everywhere. As the convoy marching along *Kordonboyu*, the standard-bearer (*sancaktar*) was killed in the State Square (*Hükümet Meydanı*) and then the bullets rained on the entire square. *Konak* turns into a lake of blood. Certain workplaces belonging to the Turks in Kemeraltı were also pillaged. The Turks could not oppose since all Turkish soldiers were unarmed (Arıkan, 1999: 43). According to *Yenigün* newspaper (May 15, 1922) published in Anatolia, after the sounds of the gunshots, “this efsun platoons” began to move to slay Turkish people. The landed soldiers were dispatched to the Turkish neighborhoods. Hasan Tahsin, the owner of the newspaper *Yeni Şark* (*Hukukubeşer*), “killed four soldiers attacking him with a bomb and threw them into the hell and himself in front of the eye of the God” (quoted by Arıkan, 47). Except for these, there were not any other big events in *İzmir*. As quoted from the project of oral history, a witness called Mükerrerrem Babat tells that she was ten years old at that period. The Ottoman flag was thrown away and the Greek flag was hung up in its place. All the adults around her were crying. After two or three days, the weapons were collected as a result of unexpected attacks to the houses. The guns that were hidden in order to not give them to the Greeks were taken from their places when the Greeks began to escape (Danacıoğlu & Böke, 1996:7). Sürgevil claims that the Greek occupation continuing for three and a half years did not result in severe political and social consequences upon the people living in the region. Since *Ankara* did not get a direct support of this region, Greeks did not consider taking harsh precautions as necessary. According to Sürvegil, the biggest contribution of Hellenism is its impact on the Turkish War of Independence (1999: 53). In other words, Greek occupation based on the great ideal, has its roots in the Hellenistic age, triggered the Turkish independence movement

In *Farewell to Anatolia*, Satiriou states that all Anatolian Greeks living in the region were called for military service by the Greek government as soon as the Greeks incorporated the territory. Anatolian Greeks who were Ottoman subjects, “together with ex-deserters, had to join their military units immediately...” (Satiriou, 146). If

they did not obey this rule, they would be accused of being Turkish. The male population between the ages of 21 and 30 were recruited for the obligatory military service. Otherwise, they would be punished. 400 Anatolian Greeks from *Kırkıca* village went to *İzmir*. Satiriou gives their psychological mood with the following words:

Our duty for our motherland was ordering us to take guns and to enter into *İstanbul*. In fact, I was not one of them who wanted to take *İstanbul*. The things we gained up to now were enough in my eye. Nevertheless, when I wore that yellowish soldier dress, something happened to me and I begin yelling with all of my force: "Enough of it! Let us spew these Turks out to the Red Apple!"(149).

Here we see that the Anatolian Greek ethnic identity fully integrates with the Greek identity as a result of these events. The great ideal of the Anatolian Greeks, the *Megala Idea* replaced the collapsing great ideal of the Turkish people, i.e., Red Apple.

In fact, *İzmir* was promised to Italians for the condition of entering into the war. England and France made Greece enter into the war for setting Italy aside since they were thinking that its authority is getting weaker because of the socialist movements there. This conflict helped Turkish national struggle later as the angry Italians and French supported Turkish National Struggle in secrecy (Tansu, 1957: 313). Akşin emphasizes that the decision to give land to Greece rather than to Italy was considered more plausible as the Anatolian Greeks already constituted the majority in the region (1992: 98).

The Greek army was going forward to *Ankara* through Eskişehir. The situation of the Pontus people is quite different from the situation of the Anatolian Greeks living in the Aegean region. The Pontus Greeks who went back to their villages and who were trying to return to their normal lives became the center of Muslim reaction after the seizure of *İzmir* by the Greek army. There was nothing left to loose for Pontus people who returned home as they could neither found their villages, nor their properties. For this reason, most of them escaped to Russia (Andreadis, 1997: 86). The ones who went to Russia could not realize their hopes since 1917 revolution distorted all political balances. As Russia fell into chaos, Pontus people migrate towards Greece. Later, they went to Greece as a result of population exchange.

The Greek army was going forward to inner Anatolia. Satiriou, in *Farewell to Anatolia*, makes the characters in his work question this situation. Manuli, one of the characters in her work, meets with a Cretan soldier during the discharge for the first division of the fourth section on October 1921. A student with leftist ideas, Nikita Drossakis, was among the unwanted people because of his “harmful activities” (161). The author makes Drossakis criticize the continuous war. He also thinks that Greeks became the tool of imperialist powers. Drossakis asks the people around him for what they have been fighting. One-soldier replies saying that they were fighting “for the King”. Drossakis tells him that he is “foolish” to believe in that.

The Allies had left them on their own. They became used as a cat’s-paw of the great states. They became miserable in *Eskişehir*, *Afyonkarahisar* and in *Kütahya* as well. Athens tells them to go to *Ankara*. According to Manuli, it is such a desperate situation that the Athens’ order of entering into *Ankara* seems quite meaningless to him. He could not understand how this order would possibly be realized since military supplies were running low and soldiers were having a hard time due to dehydration and hot weather. According to him, Turks were drawing them into the region that they wish to conduct their organized attacks. He tells that 20 days of battle in *Sakarya* made them exhausted (Satiriou, 163). That *Sakarya* battle was won by Turks changed the fate of Turkish people entirely.

When the army commandeered personally by Mustafa Kemal gained a victory in *Sakarya*, the Turkish Grand National Assembly glorified him with the title of the *Ghazi*. This success meant that the source of *Ankara’s* was officially accepted by the international powers. The Entente Powers tried to mediate between *Ankara* and *İstanbul* government. For that reason, one representative from both sides was invited to London conference held to review the terms of Sevres agreement. The representative of *Ankara*, Bekir Sami demanded the representative of *İstanbul* taken out of the hall and he clearly stated that he did not recognize Sevres. Turks persuaded the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Franklin-Boullion to support their argument and they managed to divide Entente Powers. In this meeting provides *Ankara* government is officially approved (Shaw & Shaw, 1983: 426). After *Sakarya* victory in 1921, an agreement of friendship was signed with Soviets and France. The borders assumed in Sevres were reorganized for the interest of

Turkey. The French withdraw from the region of Cilicia. A new agreement drawing the borderline between Turkey and the Syria was made. *Ankara Agreement* was signed with France in 1920. Italians withdrew from the South Anatolia, however they were to hold sovereignty in Twelve Islands (Lewis, 1988: 253-254).

Satiriou's main character, Manuli asks Drossakis' question of for what they have been fighting. Manuli never questioned the situation; he is just a soldier who only acts upon the given orders. Drossakis tells him not to despise himself since he is a kind of person who has the power to change the flow of events (Satiriou, 182). Drossakis as a leftist intellectual tells Manuli "the vase of the Sevres came broken from the factory" in 1918. According to news he heard of:

The Frenchmen are signing an agreement with Kemal for ninety years!  
The Englishmen are negotiating for the oil in Musul! Do you remember what I have told you for the London Conference? They welcomed Bekir Bey like a lamb coming back to the herd: And they put the Greeks in place of a distant relative who they want to kick out as soon as possible. They say that, 'We thought that majority of the population in Ionia and in Eastern Thrace was constituted by the Greeks ...However, we have been deceived. This issue should be analyzed again. Let us reestablish the international commissions, let us prepare the statistics and reports again!' As if they did not know by whom and with which ratio the population of Asia Minor and Thrace consisted of when they wanted us to spill out our blood, these dishonest sons of donkeys" (Satiriou, 175).

As a leftist nationalist who thinks that Greece was used as the cat's paw by the imperialist powers, Drossakis is uncomfortable with the fact that young people's blood was shed in vain. According to him, as Asia Minor and Thrace inhabited by the Anatolian Greeks, the war was legitimate. Drossakis explains his political ideas at every chance and tries to illuminate Manuli who represents the Anatolian villager. Drossakis talks about the Orlando hat. He refers to Victor Orlando, the Italian prime minister of the period. He states that this prime minister had played its role in sharing Anatolia:

When the world war has ended, a council for Peace was established in order to divide and share Turkey. Sinyor Orlando who joined this council wanted part of Anatolia to be definitely given to Italy. At the end, he so much bored the American President that his patience was over and he dressed the Sinyor down. Then, mister Orlando took his hat and went out after slamming the door on their faces. After a little while, the Englishmen, the Frenchmen and the Americans learned that Italian navy begin to broadside the shores of Asia Minor and invited our Venizelos with the fear that the Italian was landing in *İzmir* and they asked to Venizelos, "Can Greece undertake the mandatory of Asia Minor?" Actually the bastards

need the Greek army. Oh, since the Dear Venizelos was always thinking of the dream of "Great Greece", he did not see any harm in making us attack Turkey... That is why we are dying here now! (165).

Manuli, who represents in the novel the Anatolian Greek villager and lived in Turkey while yearning for Greece, does not agree with these words of Drossakis. "What did you want Venizelos to do?", when there is nothing left as Turkey. "Do you mean that Greece should miss this chance? Do you think it shouldn't have come to help us and liberate us? Do you think it shouldn't have liberated us, the land which has belonged to us for thousands of years, the source of our supremacy.?" (Satiriou, 165-166). Although this character of the novel does not utter *Megola Idea* (The Great Ideal), what actually refers to is this. The important thing for him was the Greek landing to these territories from which it was apart for thousands of years to rescue its compatriots from slavery.

In the spring of 1922, the Turkish guerrilla forces attacked the Greek battalions around Afyonkarahisar. Drossakis was also wounded (Satiriou, 187). Manuli and Drossakis, regain their consciousness in the hospital. Then they find the following article posted on the wall: "The military expedition of the Asia Minor was turned into a gangrene for Greece. The Allies are laying the immediate evacuation of the Asia Minor down as the condition. Sevres Agreement had fallen into disfavor a long time ago. The army should return to the motherland as soon as possible and without taking the risk of being surrounded" (Satiriou, 191). The answer given by Drossakis to Manuli's question about the things that would happen to them deserves a long quote:

Hitting the wound with a lancet: That is... was the military expedition of the Asia Minor necessary? Right or wrong, they trapped our beautiful youth here... in the belly of the Anatolia... And today, we were surrounded by betrayal from all of sides. Look, they are all accusing each other... To look for the sun in the middle of night is no use, Manoli. Since the Entente Powers settled the East problem in most suitable way according to their interests, I mean, beginning from the moment when the capitalists decided to prevent the separation of the Ottoman Empire, our ideal in Asia Minor is not different from a child died in its mother's womb. In the womb of Greece.... The ones who sent us to Asia Minor with thousands of promises now saying us, "Get away, the dog!", can you understand it? Whether the heart of Aksiyotis was torn up into pieces, whether the eyes of Kirmizidis got blind... they just do not care. The fate of Greece does not attract their attention even slightly... The foreign capital only calculates its own interest! You will not expect its mercy and its justice. Their representatives sit down in their offices in London and Paris, put the maps in front of them, look at it and if their interests are in danger, they remind to the people the right of determining their own fortune, they became the lovers of the independence and the liberty as well. Nevertheless, when

their interests make it necessary, they handle the red pen and draw a new line on the map, they erase the beautiful countries and the biggest people... The red pen is now above us Manoli! They gained what they wanted from Greece for free. And today Kemal drinks lemon juice squeezed by them...(Satiriou,193).

The author continues to make Drossakis tell his ideas about the occupation of Anatolia. The great nations wanted to share Anatolia and they used Greece as the tool for this purpose. To support such ideas Drossakis gives examples from foreign newspapers: “ ‘It is necessary that the Greeks should evacuate Anatolian land in the shortest time and without any conditions. We did not send them for the conquest!’” or “A reality stands in front of us; ‘The New Turkey’... The New Turkey is now conscious of its historical duty. To oppose this ideal of renewal would be a mistake from the point of us...” For Drossakis, the underlying reason for all of these is the natural resources belonging to Anatolia. Oil, coal, iron, chrome...The foreigners who want to gain power over these want to establish the monopoly.

The Greats [*sic.* great powers] may want to caress [*sic.* show affection]. If you are small, you should not trust in them though... Because their interests continuously conflict, they can not reach agreement among each other... Once you gave your collar in their hands, you can not save your arm, they take whatever you got. That is the mistake of Venizelos... He is like our own precious, he knew all of them by heart, and he went and turned into the cat's-paw in their hands. Let us never mention about the King and others in the palace! They added new mistakes to the mistakes of Venizelos and dragged us into the abyss (Satiriou,194).

Obviously, in Satiriou's work the one who was to blame here again is the third person, the Entente Powers. Yet, the imperialist tendencies of Greece were ignored here. The *Megola Idea* was never openly mentioned. The works do not touch on Greek nationalism either. In fact, one could argue that both the relationship of the neighborhood was betrayed and the enlargement policies were applied to realize *Megola Idea*.

The order of attacking comes to the Turkish front. When the attack begins, Drossakis tells that bullets used by the Turks were either English or French products. “They are the gift of London given in return for the dirty oil of Musul” (Satiriou,180). The soldiers begin to openly express their exhaustion with fighting. Some of them want to desert. The army start to pillage the Turkish villages. Drossakis questions the cruelty of the Greek army as well as the meaning of the Kemal's movement of resistance.

The situation we were facing reminded me of the Turkish army's situation in the 1914s, my heart was bleeding... Now the courage and the resistance were on the side of the Turks. Even their women and children were running to help guerillas by carrying food and ammunition on their shoulders. All the people were spying against us; they were even shooting us with their sights... 'The movement of resistance of Kemal gave a brand new heart to Turkey'". First time Drossakis uttered this sentence, it triggered my the desire to grab his throat. Now this sentence describes the the truth... And other things he said? Will they become the truth? Whether he showed such heroism and spilled that much of blood for an unjust cause? Whether the situation is just the beginning of a disaster, as he said? What are we doing here? We are here for doing what? No, you can not win this war with this kind of suspicions! We should believe in! But how and in what? (Satiriou, 81).

Manuli was dispatched to *Afyonkarahisar* front during Kemal's big attack in August 1922. Greeks continuously dig the trenches and all of their food is hard biscuits with dried fish. On August 15, Turkish horsemen surrounded them and they decided to retreat. They collected everything that they own and withdrew. They heard the news about the collapse of the front. The Greek Commander of the operation in the front was taken as prisoner of war. The dream of bringing back the ideal of thousands of years, to realize the Megola Idea fell apart The Greek soldiers without any commanders withdrew towards *İzmir* by leaving "a disgusting footprint of being barbarian animals" according to Sir Horace Rubold, the English High Commissar (Volkan & Itzkowitz, 2002: 133). The character, Manuli is also among the soldiers retreating towards *İzmir*. He finds his friend among the wounded persons. The situation is turned completely upside down now. They are withdrawing but by burning and destroying. He meets with a soldier who tied two elder Turkish men to his carriage and they bomb the bridge they passed on by placing the two men on it. The soldiers were blind drunk. Manuli can not see anything other than ruins, robbery, murder, pain, rape and fire. He delivers his friend to the Red Cross and takes the path (Satiriou, 203).

At the end he finds a place in the train departing to *İzmir*, the Anatolian Greeks were running away saying that, "Turks are coming" (Satiriou, 205). While the Turks were escaping from the Greeks at the end of the First World War, now Greeks were escape from the Turks.

#### **5.1.4. The Catastrophe of İzmir: "Giaour İzmir"**

The catastrophe of *İzmir* is a significant theme narrated in the works of Anatolian Greeks. Additionally, it is a historical transformation on the part of Greeks; they lost

their Great Idea and were defeated in the war. In other words, not only their ideal of converting the Aegean Sea into an internal sea had ended to but also their dream of merging with Greece which they call as “our Mother” had collapsed. What was even worse than that was the fact that they were driven out of the lands on which they had been they were living for hundreds of years, especially out of *İzmir*.

*İzmir* has a special meaning for Anatolian Greeks. The city, which has an intensive Greek population, always reminds motherland to the Greek community. Manuli, the hero of the Satiriou’s novel, comes from his village to *İzmir* in 1910. *İzmir* and its dock were full of “the Greek element”. “Here, everybody was speaking Greek: even Turks, Orientals, Jews and Armenians” (Satiriou,32). From these words, we can conclude that *İzmir* had a special meaning for the Anatolian Greeks. *İzmir* has always been a shelter for Greeks. For that reason, “The Turks called this city as ‘the *gavur İzmir*’, they did not like it. It was true that the city was irreligious for them; but for us, the Greeks, it had always been the capital city of joy and ease...” (208). *İzmir* that they have captured after thousands of years has again passed on to the hands of Turks.

On August 26, the Turks begin their attack that they called as the “Big Attack”. On the September 1, Mustafa Kemal gave his famous order: “Armies, your first target is the Mediterranean Sea. Go forward!” Turks prayed for National Forces in the mosques of Fatih and Ayasofia in *İstanbul*. The Greek soldiers withdrew and escaped towards *İzmir*. The Turkish army occupied Balıkesir on September 6, captured *İzmir* on September 9, and Bursa on September 10, and headed for *Çanakkale* and *İstanbul* (Shaw & Shaw, 1983: 431).

Manuli goes to a barber shop in *İzmir* to get his hair and beard trimmed. The barber, just like many other Anatolian Greeks, is not aware of the defeat. The Greek barber thinks that the navy arriving to the shore of *Çeşme* would rescue them from Turkish army. On the contrary, Manuli is aware of the changing situation and he is enlightened by the knowledge learned from his friend Drossakis. He gets angry with the barber’s ignorance and says: “The greats in Athens left us on our own, only God knows what will become of us from now on! Coming to Englishmen, do not dream in vain. All the Englishmen, Frenchmen and Americans... all of

them... do you hear me! All betrayed us... They are the ones who dig our graves, put this into your mind! ” (210). The character was right, the allies took their support back. At that time the Greek cabinet wanted the help of England for cease-fire but it did not receive any support. Turks who now gained power are struggling to death their hearts to take the control of borders defined by the National Pact (*Misak-ı Milli*). When the Turks occupied *Bergama* and *Kuşadası*, Frenchmen proposed to hand over the eastern Thrace back to Turks. On September 18, Mustafa Kemal announced that the Greek army in Anatolia was completely destroyed.

Emphasizing the neutrality of *İstanbul* and Bosphorus, the Entente Powers wanted Turks to withdraw. Demanding new military forces, Englishmen prepared for the war, nevertheless the English general staff writes a report saying that the fact that Englishmen are not familiar with weather conditions of the season can cause a lot of trouble. Following this, they decided to defend *Çanakkale* only if necessary and demand French aid for Eastern Thrace. However, Frenchmen withdrew from the Dardanelles and left Englishmen alone. As the Turks entered into the Straits on September 24, Englishmen declared that they could provide what the Turks want in peace conference provided that no blood is shed. The consultations about the cease-fire begin (Shaw & Shaw, 1983: 432).

The Greeks were left alone, not only their allies but also the Greek naval army abandoned them. According to the work, the Greek ships do not rescue them either. In Pire, 92 ships were waiting for the purpose of saving the wounded people, yet the cabinet declared that carrying the wounded people is not an obligatory but a voluntary issue. For that reason only 17 ships came to save the wounded people. The French armored ship *Waldeck-Rousseau* departs by playing the Greek national march and saluting in accordance with the protocol. Everybody was frightened now (Satiriou, 214-215). Manuli finds his family. The family did not know anything; they had invested all their money on the land. Nevertheless, the Turks would arrive in *İzmir* in an hour and they had to escape to Greece.

The English patrol fills the people into a barge and brings them close to the ships. In the coming morning, they see the Turkish horsemen on the dock; they hear that the town criers were calling everybody to their workplaces. They also think that the

allies are protecting the Christians. They suddenly realize that *İzmir* was on fire. While they were questioning what the Turks might gain from this situation, they remember the Turkish villages burned by the Greek. There are no places where people can escape: “There is the sea in the front, the fire and the death at the back!”(Satiriou, 221). The ones who can catch the barge at the last moment narrate the situation:

The men of Pehlivan and the soldiers of Nureddin Pasha were pillaging, destroying and burning everywhere. They were torturing men who have not died yet and crucifying the priests in the church, and raping the young girls and boys whom beat to death by lying them on the mihrab. In all of the city, from one side to the other, the Turkish knife was continuously hitting, hitting and hitting (Satiriou, 222).

In the moment of destruction that annihilates everything they are afraid of the terrorization more than they are afraid of the death. Turks were extremely angry with the Greeks who they once considered as friends. They could not forgive that Greeks with whom they lived together for years occupied their country and tortured them while they were running away. Turks order to the Greeks: “Lie down on your knees, giaour (*gavur*)! We were lying down. Get your clothes off, giaour! We were getting our clothes off. Open your legs, giaour! We were opening. Dance, giaour! We were dancing. Spit on your honor, on your country, giaour! We were spitting on. Deny your God, giaour! We were denying that too...” (Satiriou, 223). According to the work, it was the Turks who burned *İzmir* although it could not be determined who started the fire. In contrast, the Turks blame Anatolian Greeks and Armenians for the fire (Volkan & Itzkowitz, 2002: 134).

Satiriou’s main character, Manuli and his family in the barge ask English sailors to take them to one of the islands, either to *Sakız*, *Sisam*, or to *Midilli*. Trailers come and begin to pull the barges waiting in open sea with the Greeks in them. But it was the Turks not English sailors who come to rescue them. Some of them could not bear this throw themselves into the sea. The sea is full of with people. They try to climb on warships of the allied forces. The people in ships either spill the hot water upon their heads or beat their heads with the iron rods. They stay in the barge: “For us, the mercilessness of the allies was the source of the fear more than the sanguinary of the Turks” (Satiriou, 225). The allies were shooting films with cameras and were playing marches while this torture was taking place, “their

bands were playing their bands dance music... to prevent cries of pain and prayers from irritating the ears of their ship's crew! However, one single artillery fire, one single order... might be enough to put the attackers who broke their chains into the state of the complete disarray...But that artillery fire was not shot, that order was not given!" (223). Here in this novel, the allies are how put in the position of the other. Their behavior is described as extremely cruel and treacherous. In fact, they were the ones who ordered Greeks to go to Anatolia. Now they lament on having been as a too for the purposes of the allies is implicitly expressed in this novel.

The Turks take Greek males as prisoners of war while letting women and children survivors after all the destructions and murders go away. Establishing his fiction upon this issue, Dukas narrates the story of a young boy who was taken as a prisoner of war while waiting in the dock to escape from *İzmir* with his family in the *The Memoir of a Captive* (Dukas, 2003:17). The hero of the work narrates that Turks treated them extremely cruelly and he quotes the words of the military officer who took them as prisoners: "I will exterminate you" According to Dukas, the prisoners were about one or two thousands. The prisoners were made to walk through the bazaar, the Turkish people were quite angry. The hero tells that Turks "attacked on us like crazy people" (2003:18). He never explains why they were out in this situation, why Turks attacked them. This is a significant point where that author is silence about.

We can see the same description in Satiriou's work also (229). She expresses that 2000 prisoners of war were made to begin to walk in the arm order: "As soon as we begin to walk we thought that they would kill all of us. However, the attack began to flow in the streets of *İzmir*. A crowd of extremely angry people thirsty for revenge attacked on us. There were bars, stones, and iron rods in their hands (229). The bottles and the vases full of dirt were raining upon us from the balconies. Fifty of us died when they arrived at *Basmane*." Both sides had gone through so much pain that almost everybody wanted to kill the other. According to Satiriou, all prisoners except for 300 who had chosen to work for the reconstruction of the villages in the region of *Aydın* were slaughtered (231).

*İzmir* catastrophe of Anatolian Greeks becomes the declaration of victory for the Turks. The Greek, that is the enemy, was dispersed into the sea. Turkey belongs to the Turks. The war was won. Not only the Greeks who became the tool of the international politics but also Anatolian Greeks too had lost the war. The *Megola Idea* had come to an end and the Red Apple, which they were trying to defeat, became the winner. The Greek had the chance of recapturing the lands that they lost by the conquest of *İstanbul* slipped through the hands of Greeks and the *Megola Idea* had turned into a dream once again before being realized. Yet still, a second would come on the Cyprus issue. The Turks had won the Independence War and the Turkish Republic was established. There exist efforts for nationalization from now on. Neither Greece nor Turkey could tolerate Turkish or Greek elements in their countries. Based on Wilson principles, the mutual exchange of populations was decided upon. In the next section of this study the Lausanne Treaty in addition to the issue of population exchange is analyzed on the basis of literary works.

## **5.2. The Population Exchange: “I had planted my vineyard but someone else would drink its wine”\***

The big population exchange was determined by a protocol signed between Turkey and Greece on the basis of Lausanne Treaty, which drew the existing borders of Turkey. The population exchange is among the significant discourses developed in Anatolian Greek literary works. All Anatolian Greek population living outside *İstanbul* was sent to Greece. In return, all the Muslim population living Greece except those who were settled in Western Thrace came to Turkey.

The first population exchange occurred during the Balkan Wars. The rising nationalism dominated by religion and of ethnic identity led to population exchanges. During the Balkan wars, a great majority of Muslims was migrating to Anatolia from Macedonia while Greeks living in Anatolia migrated either to Greece or to Russia. As the modernist theories of nationalism explain, in these periods since the establishment of a homogenized nation-state was targeted at, Turkish people was forced to migrate from the Balkan Peninsula to Anatolia. The purpose

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\* Prevelakis (1997: 53) “*Bağımı ben diktim şarabımı başkası içecek*”

of this enforcement is the homogenization of the newly established nation-states and the redefinition of new nations on the basis of one single meta-identity.

The Independence War turned this situation upside-down. This time, Turks whose existence in Anatolian land was almost forgotten, entered the process of the nationalism instead of being various ethnic groups living within Ottoman Empire. The influx of Muslim masses running away from the Balkan War, was replaced by another migration flow, this time from Anatolia, towards the Balkan Peninsula. After the Greek defeat, the number of Anatolian Greeks arriving in Greece reaches almost 850.000 people. (Ari, 2003: 86). As a result of this migration Muslim population living in Greece were pressurized and extremely bad conditions were created from them. While there is a big army of unemployed migrants in one country (Greece), the need for labor force exists in the other country (Turkey).

Expressing the story of a city in Crete<sup>9</sup>, Prevelakis narrates the story of Turkish people leaving the Island. The decision of exchange comes just after the *İzmir* catastrophe. Anatolian Greeks running away from *İzmir* can not know what they would do when they arrive to the Island since they are bewildered. According to Prevelakis<sup>10</sup>, the Turks living on the Island feel a concealed joy. What is explicitly expressed here is that the idea of an Anatolia cleansed off from Anatolian Greeks gives happiness to the Turkish people living on the islands. According to the author, Turks are happy with this news even though they support Anatolian Greek refugees coming from Anatolia. Even the mosques of Turks, their worshipping places, are occupied to shelter homeless people. They inferred with the living areas of Turkish people and occupied some of their space. According to the author, “the Turkish people welcomed the pain with sweetness”. While islanders thought that the situation had come to a peaceful end, a bad news comes which states that “Venizelos and Kemal agree to exchange Turkish population in Crete with the Anatolian Greeks population to let two peoples live in eternal peace”. The

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<sup>9</sup> In their conducted research Nükhet and Nuri Adıyeke emphasize that Greeks and Muslims in Crete were mixed with each other. With the independence of Greece, many Muslims chose to be Christians. [Http://www.lozannubadilleri.org/Nukhet%20adiyeke.htm](http://www.lozannubadilleri.org/Nukhet%20adiyeke.htm)

<sup>10</sup> Prevelakis, Pandelis (1997). *Story of a Town in Crete*, translated by Osman Bleda. The novel narrates the story of a small city of seven or eight thousands of population located in the northern Crete.

news creates a shock effect. “All the people hearing this, both Christians and Muslims were paralyzed”. While they try to learn whether the news is correct, the Islanders think how unbelievable the news is. The author establishes a simile between the situation and “a married couple who fought among each other and divorced by the priest just when they forgot about the fighting” (Prevelakis, 1997: 51). When the time of breaking up had come, ships are rented to carry more than 50.000 Turks living on the island. Everybody walks around like “death people”. It is difficult to find 200 persons who are glad with the situation (51).<sup>11</sup> The author describes the situation as such: obviously, neither those who left nor those who arrive are glad:

each one of them is turning around like the teetotums, and searching what they could take with them. But, what could the poor do, they were bewildered just like the housewife of Rethemno, who jumps out to the street by grasping the pan from her burned house, as if it is the most valuable belonging in the house. There were Turks whose construction of their mansions were just completed, the Turks who are ordered to put the keys of their mansions in it and to leave the mansion just when the construction men had left the house. In that unlucky year, others were waiting for the first product of their olive trees that took five years or for a longer period to be grown. There were bazaar men who stocked goods in their shops for that year and who had to sell it for nothing now... The human being in physical pain brays like the donkeys. Therefore, on the one side, the Turks crying for their being dispatched from their land and on the other side the refugees, the Anatolian Greeks beating his breast because of losing his home and land and questioning which damned animals ignored the human pain like this and expecting which interest from doing this (Prevelakis, 1997: 53).

A protocol between Turkey and the Greek was signed on January 30, 1923. According to the first article of the protocol, “the obligatory exchange of Turkish subjects of Greek Orthodox Religion<sup>12</sup> settled on Turkish land and the Greek subjects of the Muslim religion settled on Greek land would be applied<sup>13</sup> starting

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<sup>11</sup> Gökaçtı narrates this positive picture drawn by Prevelakis in a different way. He expresses that some bandits in Crete pillaged the Muslim properties. When the Anatolian Greeks dispatched to Crete, the Cretan Greeks looted Muslim’s properties. This study does not present any documents nevertheless; its narration has similarities with Prevelakis’ literary work. In the same study, various rumors (children will not be given back to their families, the young people will be taken as prisoners) were told so that Cretan Muslims immediately left the island. Because of these factors, Cretan Muslims migrated to Anatolia and *İzmir* before the beginning of the population exchange (2002: 101).

<sup>12</sup> As the title of the Turkish subjects of Greeks origin covered all Anatolian Greeks, the Greeks of the Catholic sect are also covered. The Greeks of the Catholic sect were never involved in any action whatsoever against Turkey. The French representative Laporte demands their exclusion from the exchange process. But Rıza Nur states that they used the title of Turkish subjects of Greek origin instead of the title of Orthodox Greeks. Macar explains that almost two thousands Greek Catholics migrated to Greece in 1923 (1997: 44-45).

<sup>13</sup> See the Internet site <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org/anlamsa.htm> for the complete text of the protocol.

from May 1, 1923". The second article, on the other hand, clarifies which people that the exchange would affect. As it was mentioned earlier, the population other than the Greek population in *İstanbul* and the Muslim population of the western Thrace are subjected to the exchange process. The male population who were kept in Turkey, the prisoners of war, in other words, would constitute the first group of people to be sent to Greece.

Before discussing the issue of the population exchange, it is useful to provide information about Lausanne Treaty where the decision of the exchange was taken and about the report prepared by Norwegian Dr. Fridtjof Nansen. The League of the Nations sent Nansen to both countries to examine the new situation before the conference. Nansen proposes the voluntary exchange of the Muslim population living in Greece with the Orthodox people living in Turkey. The report of Nansen read in the Lausanne Conference was imposed on Turkish side. As it would be seen in the coming paragraphs, the issue of Greeks living in *İstanbul* and the Muslim population living in western Thrace was put on the agenda by the Turkish side with the claim that the Muslim population in western Thrace constitutes the majority of the population. Nansen claimed that if the population exchange did not take place, the situation would end in a catastrophe from the economical point of view, both countries are in need of the labor force (Arı, 2003: 87). After mutual negotiations, an agreement about the population exchange of the Turkish and the Greek populations was signed on January 30, 1923. According to Arı, the obligatory migration violated human rights and forced almost 1.700.000 people to leave their places (2003: 89). All the legal problems that emerged as a result of the population exchange are solved with another agreement signed on June 10, 1923 in *Ankara*.<sup>14</sup>

The Lausanne Treaty has significant consequences other than the Population Exchange. The Lausanne Treaty ensures Turkey's legitimate place in the international society. According to Toprak, Lausanne is an integral part of the Republic. In other words, July 24, 1923 and October 29, 1923 (the date of

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<sup>14</sup> The agreement with the title of "The Agreement Signed in Greece to Solve the Problems Caused By the Application of the Lausanne Treaty and The Athens Mutual Agreement About the Population Exchange" was published in the Turkish official newspaper numbered 1534 and dated July 1, 1930. See, also: <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org/anlasma.html>

declaration of the Republic), respectively symbolize the external and internal dimension of the establishment of the new nation-state (2003: 64). The Conference began on October 21, 1923. The delegation representing the Turkish side was under the leadership of İsmet İnönü. According to Shaw & Shaw (1983: 435), the biggest obstacle in the front of the Turkish side was the attitude of Entente Powers delegates who still acted as if they were holding a meeting with the defeated side. The Entente Powers had invited both the representatives of the cabinets of *Ankara* and *İstanbul* to Lausanne (Yücekök, 1984: 167). The Turkish side appoints İsmet İnönü and Rıza Nur, the Minister of Health to Lausanne for their strong skills and firm stance in *Mudanya* negotiations. İsmet İnönü leaves the table when Lord Curzon puts the conditions of peace and dictates his wishes. Later, Lord Curzon changes his behavior and says that: "Hitherto we have dictated our peace treaties. Now we are negotiating one with the enemy who has an army in being while we have none, an unheard of position" (Toprak, 2003: 65).

Lausanne Conference continues much longer than the expected. İnönü uses his problem of hearing as an advantage pretending that he does not hear certain things. In this way he saves time. In this period, the army under the command of Mustafa Kemal invades the last cities in Thrace. This puts Turks into a more advantageous position in the conference. At the same time the Republican People's Party is established. The Conference takes a break in on February 4, 1923. İnönü meets with harsh criticisms in the Turkish Assembly because of a number of concessions that he had to give in the conference. The Assembly prepares its own peace proposal. İnönü goes back to Lausanne. After negotiations continuing for three months, İnönü makes the demands of the Turkish side accepted except for a few quite necessary concessions (Shaw & Shaw, 1983: 435). According to Mustafa Kemal, the account made in Lausanne is in fact an effort "to overcome so much old, so much complicated and so much disgusting calculations" having its roots in "the computations of centuries". Therefore, the situation is in an extremely complicated state (Aydemir, 1988: 226).<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Lewis compares Enver and Mustafa Kemal and writes that Enver was audacious while Mustafa Kemal had the foresight. He supports the views of Atay who says that if Enver entered *İzmir*, he would enter Syria and Iraq. He emphasizes that Mustafa Kemal "solved the old disagreements by the method of a cruel but effective population exchange and established peace" with Greeks by the end of the Lausanne (255).

At the end of the long negotiations and meetings, the borders of the National Pact were accepted except for the Musul region. The Eastern Thrace, the river *Meriç* is chosen and accepted as the borderline. *Çanakkale, İmroz* and *Bozcaada* stayed in the Turkish side and the Islands were left to Greece. According to Shaw & Shaw (1983: 436), despite of the fact that Turkey draws its borders and gains its complete sovereignty, “the decrees are quite ambiguous and their application takes a long time” since Turkey was assumed to be obliged to abide by agreements signed before 1914, although both sides accepted the annulment of the capitulations. The complete development of Turkish customs politics occurs no sooner than 1929. The problem of the “Straits”, the problem of the “minorities” and the problem of the “Musul” are the main subject matters that the conference considered as significant.

The most important development brought by the treaty is the abolishment of foreign states’ rights to control the minorities living in Turkey. The Turkish side undertook the protection of rights of living and of liberty for all the people living in Turkey, without considering any differences of birth, of nationality and of religion. Evans explains that the religious liberty of the minorities, the security of life and of property, the rights to have equal rights with Muslim people were taken under the guarantee of the League of the Nations (407). Parla states that İsmet Pasha expressed that the minorities living in Turkey would have two fundamental rights on the basis of the 5<sup>th</sup> article. All the rights given by European countries to their minorities would be considered as the basis to determine the rights, which will be given to the minorities living in Turkey. The principle of reciprocity would be also influential in determining those rights. This means that is, neighboring countries would be expected to recognize the same rights for Muslim minorities living in their countries (1998: 148). The articles from 37 to 45 regulate the situation of minorities. Article 37 determines that the rights covered by this treaty are basic laws and no any official service can be considered as superior to this treaty<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> Article 37: “Turkey undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 38 to 44 shall be recognised as fundamental laws, and that no law, no regulation, nor official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, nor official action prevail over them.”  
<http://www.hri.org/docs/lausanne/part1.html>

Rights provided to minorities are explained in article 38.<sup>17</sup> The rights given to all of the Turkish citizens would be applied without discriminating between the Muslim and non-Muslim peoples. Nevertheless, only three communities, Anatolian Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities have the status of being non-Muslim (*gayrimüslim*). The official authorities explain that other communities renounced from the rights determined in Lausanne (Oran, 2003: 115).<sup>18</sup> The most significant issue of our interest is the agreement between Greece and Turkey about changing the places of 1.300.000 Anatolian Greeks and 500.000 Turks, as it was stated earlier. Except for the people who began living in *İstanbul* prior to the year 1918, all the Anatolian Greeks living in Anatolia and Thrace would be sent to Greece while all Turks living in Greece, except for the ones living in Western Thrace, would be sent to Turkey (Shaw & Shaw, 1983: 437).

In 1923, there were almost 200.000 Turks in western Thrace. The real agreement about the stay of Turks in western Thrace in return for the stay of Greeks in *İstanbul* was signed on 1927 (Aydemir, 1988: 229). While this event ends with the displacement of more than one million people, it also terminates the presence of Anatolian Greeks in Anatolian territory. Prior to the exchange of population, the migration of Anatolian Greeks was due to the seizure of *İzmir* by the Turkish army. After that event, 263.000 Anatolian Greeks were evacuated from the dock of *İzmir*. In a similar way, Pontus people were also leaving the country. After the population exchange no Greeks were left in Anatolia. Greeks living in *İstanbul* puts forward the Patriarchate problem which was later solved:

The rights of the minorities in Turkey would be protected by the Turkish Government in accordance with the general foundations determined in the last signed Treaty in the Europe. Nevertheless, for this, the rights of the Turkish minorities in the neighboring countries should be protected in the same way (Aydemir, 1988: 232).

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<sup>17</sup> Article 38: "The Turkish Government undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion. / All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to free exercise, whether in public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, the observance of which shall not be incompatible with public order and good morals. / Non-Moslim minorities will enjoy full freedom of movement and emigration, be subject to the measures applied, on the whole or on part of the territory, to all Turkish nationals, and which may be taken by the Turkish Government for national defence, or for the maintenance of public order." <http://www.hri.org/docs/lausanne/part1.html>

<sup>18</sup> For detailed information, see Oran, 2003: 72-77.

Turkey has accepted to allow Anatolian Greeks living in İstanbul, remained exempt from the exchange of the population. In return Turkish population in Western Thrace had to remain in their place. The American diplomat, Roymand Hare, argues that Greece economically benefited but politically lost from the population exchange (Aktar, 2002: 20).

Prevelakis in *Story of a Town in Crete* describes the last days of Turks living in Greece. People say a farewell to their mansions. A man pulls the rolling shutters of his window to take them with him. Other Turks imitate him and they pull out the wooden ornaments, wooden lattice works, the doors and even the wooden basements of their houses: “all of these was done in a state of cruelty and madness in contrast to obedience and submission that they presented until today” (1997: 54). The situation becomes so tense that Christians think that Turks would start set everywhere on fire. The refugees, thinking to settle in the houses left by Turks attack Turks for the sake of saving the houses they think they could spend the winter in. The situation becomes more severe and the soldiers come to take the under control events (Prevelakis, 1997: 54). Similar events, resembling the ones described by Prevelakis also happens in Anatolia. During the meetings of Turkish assembly, Cavit Pasha talks about the great numbers of the migrants who came to settle in *Samsun*, and stresses that the places where these people were settled are in an extremely unhealthy state since, “everything in the name of windows, doors were taken from these houses and even...the European style clay roofing materials were taken and sold in the bazaar.” He wants the officers to be assigned to control this pillage (TBMM Zabıt Cerideleri, Volume 10: 36-37). The ones who forced to leave their houses did not want to leave anything behind either to keep some souvenirs or to prevent others from getting hold of their own their properties.

From the words of Cavit Pasha, we realize that the events occurring in Pontus region were not much different from the ones that happened in the Aegean region. According to the author, 350.000 people lost their lives because of various reasons before the exchange. This figure constitutes half of the Greek population living in the region (Andreadis, 1997: 62). The other half went to Greece with the exchange.

The Greek military expedition to Asia Minor ended in a catastrophe while the Great Ideal (megola idea) resulted in the exchange of population. The Pontus people living in Russia also migrated to Greece. While some of them stayed in Russia. The people of *Espiye* narrated in *Tamama* went to Greece. It seems that there were not many people left in the Pontus region when the Lausanne Treaty signed between Turkey and Greece on 1924 (86-87).

Çerkezyan in *The World is Enough for All*, states that, a lot of Anatolian Greeks were living in *Ereğli* region before the exchange. Afterwards, their houses were given to the refugees who came from cities like Thessalonica, *Kozana* and *Kilkış*. The newcomers were generally villagers. They got their cows and cattles. They turned beautiful Greek houses into ranges. The only contribution of exchanged people coming from Greece to *Ereğli* was to teach to settled Turkish population the way to plant corn whereas the ones who left *Ereğli* for Greece had a rich culture, trade and crafts (2003: 74). Erdilek<sup>19</sup>, in his article, supports the point made by Çerkezyan. After basic rights were recognized to Anatolian Greeks by the *Tanzimat*, the people who could not find jobs in the Islands and in Greece moved to the Anatolia starting from 1880s. According to the English Consulate, in 1880, about 200.000 Greeks came to Anatolia. This group intensified the Greek population in Anatolia and this situation was to favor of Greeks to invade Anatolia. When the rich class, who were engaged basically with the trade, was sent to Greece, they also took with them their financial experiences, wealth and international connections. This group shifted the international trade connections of *İzmir* to Pire. The inactive Greek economy expanded two times more and the ratio of the planted fields also increased 55% about ten years after this migration. Uran (1959: 72), the sub-governor of the refugees coming from Rumelia and settled in *Çeşme*, expresses that they came from a region of high altitude with a harsh climate and settled in *Çeşme*. The arbitrary settlement of the coming refugees became a severe problem. Uran tells that the refugees coming to *Çeşme* “are the ones who did not know even about the grain agriculture, quite poor...primitive villagers, the Bosnian settlers of the villages *Akova* and *Kolaşın*. Most of them cannot even speak Turkish” (1959: 75). The settlement of the coming immigrants

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<sup>19</sup> The quotations from Erdilek are derived from the web page of “*Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı*”. According to the web page, Erdilek’s article on “*Turkish Greek Exchange*” originally published in the *Journal of Baraka*.

caused severe debates in the Turkish assembly. The *İzmir* deputy Mahmut Celal Bey (Bayar) expressed his concerns about the qualifications of the newcomers in an interview:

I admit that the conditions of the lives and of the economics of the leavers and the newcomers are not equal with each other. The leavers generally were the tradesmen and merchants while the newcomers are generally the peasants or the unskilled construction workers. Gentlemen, the great majority of the newcomers are the villagers whereas the great majority of the leavers are the urbanized people. I leave the possibility of making a comparison between such incomparable ratios to your higher recognition (TBMM Zabıt Cerideleri, Volume 10: 52).

The departure of the exchanged people was painful for both of the sides. The newcomers had a hard time to adapt to their new home. They also had troubles in integrating with the local people.<sup>20</sup> Özkan (2000: 34-35) explains the settlement of Muslim villagers coming from Greece to *Akmeşe* town in *İzmir* after the forced emigration of Armenian people in 1915. The settlers of this town had been sent to Rumelia from *Karaman* region in *Konya* during the Ottoman period. They came back to the Anatolia after about 300 years. He narrates the events with reference to Hacı Hasan Ögütçen, a witness, who were nine years old at the time. The people coming from Greece to *İzmir* by ships did not have any problems finding areas to live in because the empty houses left by the Anatolian Greeks and Armenians were unoccupied. They looked for the villages to settle down and they settled in *Armaş* (currently *Akmeşe*). There all the buildings were in ruin so that they had to start a new life.

While the event of exchange has a big place in Greek history, it is much ignored in Turkish history writings.<sup>21</sup> Demiröz<sup>22</sup> attributes this to the unfamiliarity of villagers to written culture. Few written stories were either in Ottoman or Greek. For this reason, the memories were not transferred to and could not be evaluated by the coming generations. Polikseni Katraçis, who migrated to Greece from Gelveri, tells

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<sup>20</sup> Melvill Chater prepared a documents and an essay about the exchange in the year 1925 for the journal of The National Geographic Magazine. The article can be reached from the Internet site of the Foundation of the Exchanged People of the Lausanne.

<sup>21</sup> The literary work of Kemal Yalçın, Entrusted Trousseau is among rare studies, which can be perceived as the oral history study.

<sup>22</sup> Demiröz emphasizes in his article about the obligatory migration that there is a lack about this issue in the Turkish literary works but it is discussed quite much in Greece. This issue is analyzed in detail in the studies done in the Research Center for the Asia Minor Studies in the Athens.  
<http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org/damlademirozu.htm>

that he learned that there would be an exchange from a commission, coming from Greece. She was quite happy to go to Greece as her husband had been killed by Turks in a land dispute. Nevertheless, when they arrived in Greece after the voyage, the situation was not much bright. They lived from September until May by moving from one tent to another. The construction process of the settlement houses took two years. During these two years, they lived under quite bad conditions and they lost a lot. Polikseni says that, “the Exchange was a God damn thing. Though we were joyful because we thought we got rid of Turks, we had much harder times” later (Balta & Millas, 1996: 10).

Greek settlers in Turkey were also in a desperate situation as much as their counter parts. To end the chaos, the Proxy of The Settlement and the Improvement was established in the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1923. The basic duty of the Proxy was to take care of the settlement of the “coreligionist people coming to the Motherland after being rescued from the hands of the enemy” (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Volume 3: 136). A proposal with thirty signatures was presented to give unused properties in Eastern Anatolia to newcomer refugees (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Volume 3: 303). This created much controversy in the assembly. The local people had occupied the places that were planned to place the refugees in. Almost a year passed between the departure of the Anatolian Greeks and the arrival of immigrants. Vehbi Bey, the deputy of Kars asks, “Are we going to send away these people whose houses were destroyed while they were defending the country, spilling their bloods for this cause” (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Volume 7: 414). We see that the immigrants came to a milieu with severely unfavorable conditions. While some local notables and politicians were arguing that local people should benefit from the properties left by Greeks, there was also a need to settle refugees. The places that the immigrants would be settled in were already occupied by the local people.

On the other hand, in the literary works, there is silence about the reasons of exchange. Only the moments of the day are described. The most significant matter not mentioned is the rise of homogenizing politics of ethnic nationalism in the process nation-state building. Within this politics, different ethnic or religious identities, which can not be melted, are either suppressed or exiled. A tendency of

becoming nationalistic in tone is at stake. According to Smith (1994: 196) minorities living in the regions dominated by ethnic nationalism are either exiled abroad or turned into foreign or the second-class citizens in their own countries. Supporting this point, Aktar (2002: 18) mentions that the nationalist elite chose the method of the population exchange to get rid of their own minorities. At the same time, these elites could not realize the political and legal arrangements, which would increase the possibility of different population groups to live together. Along with this politics, different ethnic identities were sometimes abused by the states when they experienced problems in international politics. The minority populations, which mutually left in both Turkey and Greece, were used as a bargaining power by these states even long years after Lausanne: like the problems of the Tax on Wealth and Earnings, the events of the September 6-7 and the Cyprus problem.

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 The return  
 From Ashkale  
 -without any pocket money-  
 Peculiar  
 Quite peculiar  
 I do not understand, why  
 The old friends are escaping from me  
 Peculiar  
 Quite peculiar  
 These building were his once  
 Just like this shop,  
 This...  
 Friends were sitting in his table  
 In the day and in the night  
 Now,  
 No friends smiling to his face  
 A friend  
 A smile  
 And he  
 Never forgot  
 The borrowed salute of the old friends  
 He could not forget  
 How Possible!

### 5.3. The Tax on Wealth and Earnings

In his *The World is Enough for All*, Çerkezyan mentions that the government brought in the tax on wealth and earnings in order to possess the properties of non-Muslim people. As a result of this policy, affecting not only the rich people but also small-scale retailers, an amount of tax well beyond the taxpayers' ability to pay was collected: "The value of their properties was already so much decreased in order to appropriate everything they own, and not to let anything left in their hands. The ones who could not put together the necessary amount of tax in exchange of their sold properties were dispatched to Ashkale"(2003: 125). In the work, the idea of appropriating the property of non-Muslim people is continuously stressed. However, the events are not analyzed. Rather the suffering of non-

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\* Antan Özer 11/5/1950, Kadıköy (Carakayt, July 8, 1950, Issue number 165) quoted by Çerkezyan

Muslims are voiced all the time. Yet, neither the conditions of national economy, nor the deprivation of the Muslim population are mentioned. The conditions of the war as well as the war economy are among the matters which the works are silent about.

The years between 1919 and 1939 are the period of a hidden war economy in the early Turkish Republic. Due to the annulment of the *Aşar* tax, the Turkish state had lost its most significant source of revenue. Turkey, as a country of agriculture, was in a recession because of “the strong money, the balanced budget” policy. In addition to this, the political regime became more authoritarian with the effect of the Great Depression in 1930s. Along with these, the lack of stability in the Balkan Peninsula and the Italian’s enlargement policies of *mare nostrum* (our sea) led Turkey to increase its defense budget. This situation accelerated the transition to etatism, which proceeded national economic policy of the Unionists one step further.

Having a half autocratic system, Turkey continued to apply import-substituting policies as leading the people to buy domestic products (Toprak, 2004: 70 -71). The period of the National Chief (İsmet İnönü) can be considered as a regime with limited democracy. On the other hand, the regime is in line with the political conjuncture of the 1930s. This system continued until the Second World War. The Law of the National Protection (1940), the Law of the Tax on Wealth and Earnings (1942), the Law of Agricultural Products (1942) the Law of Allocating Land to Farmers (1945) brought the end of the single party regime in 1946 (Toprak, 2004: 74). All these policies unfortunately decreased the people’s income level and brought about heavy duties and burdens on people. Besides, the higher inflation rate and the existence of black market made the daily life very expensive and unbearable.

The Tax on Wealth and Earnings is implemented between October 11, 1942 and March 15, 1944.<sup>23</sup> While some argue that the collection of this tax should be

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<sup>23</sup> “The Tax on Wealth and Earnings” is among the most debated laws in the history of Republic. It was submitted to the approval of the Turkish Grand National Assembly by Şükrü Saraçoğlu on November 9, 1942. The law was accepted on November 11, and it began to be implemented on November 12, 1942 after being published in the Official Gazette. A certain amount of the loans of certain taxpayers were erased by the law

considered as a necessary policy due to the requirements of that period, some argue that this was policy to legitimate the Turkicization directed against minorities. According to Aktar who agrees with the second argument, this implementation is part of the Turkicization politics having its roots in the government of Union and Progress. The definition of the term Turkicization according to the author is the effort to render Turkish ethnic identity dominant in all dimensions of social life without any concessions “ranging from the language spoken to the history taught in the schools, from trade life to decisions about who would be kept in government offices as a state staff” (1999: 10). This policy aimed to consolidate of the power of Turkish ethnic identity. Such policies exist throughout the history of the Republic. As a result of such policies, the population of non-Muslims decreased from 2.78% in 1927 to 0.50 % at present (11).

When the Second World War began in 1939 Turkey tried to protect its neutrality. The cost of the neutrality, on the other hand, was the quick decline of economy. Due to the threat of the German invasion, the Turkish army declared a general mobilization and one million people were conscripted to military service. This also led to increase in the money allocated to the defense. Thousands of people withdrew from labor force leading to a sharp decrease in agricultural and industrial production. According to Shaw & Shaw, because of the war and the blockades in the Mediterranean region, Turkey lost its external market as well (1983: 471). With the law of the National Protection approved in 1941, the implementation of a law about the obligatory working, mine and factory workers had to work obligatorily. The aim was to sustain the needs of the army. The policies increasing the money supply were applied in order to cover the monetary needs and this resulted in an increase in inflation. Toprak states that the rate of price increases of the period was 459% (2004: 75). Buying and selling goods in the black market led to unjust income earning. The method of distributing rationing-cards could not hinder the black market. During the opening of the TGNA (Turkish Grand National Assembly) on November 1, 1942, İnönü expresses the economic situation in following words:

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dated September 7, 1943 and numbered 4501. With “The Law About Terminating of The Total Amount of the Tax on Wealth and Earnings” dated March 15, 1944 with the number of 4530, the implementation of the “Tax on Wealth and Earnings” was abolished. The taxes which could not be collected until that time were erased. For complete texts of the laws, see: <http://www.belgenet.com/arsiv/varlikvergesi.html>

The greedy feudal lords of farms, the fraudulent borrowers of the past, perceiving these days of uncertainty as one time chance and the greedy; and the profiteer merchants who would try to turn the air we breath into a commodity if they could; and a few number of politicians we can not identify, are working for the interests of the foreign nation that see the plight we are in as great opportunities for their political passions, all of them are arrogantly trying to place a bomb to the life of a great nation (Aktar, 2004: 83).

The Muslim owners of large scale farmers constituted by the Muslims, and the non-Muslim merchants and commissioners of *İstanbul* are the two big groups which benefited from the Second World War. They gained their profit from the import of necessary goods. In order to appropriate the surplus of profit acquired by these groups, several categories for taxation were prepared. According to Lewis, religious and ethnic affiliation were the basic criteria to determine the tax ratios (1988: 297).<sup>24</sup>

Under these extraordinary circumstances, the government implemented several economic measures. For the reason of taxing benefits gained in extraordinary circumstances, Saraçoğlu, the prime minister of the time, introduced the tax on wealth and earnings (Aktar, 1999: 11). Toprak states that a small group paid almost half of the amount of the tax. This payment had very deep repercussions. According to Kafaoğlu, the tax on wealth and earnings states the major reason for minorities to draw away from the market. The other policy, the tax on agricultural products put on the shoulders of farmers is seen as a “cruel” tax. Toprak mentions that the villagers could not react to this tax in contrast to minorities. He also states the villagers reacted by voting for Democrat Party rather than for RPP (the Republican People’s Party) in the first elections of the multi-party regime (2004: 75). In fact it is argued that the Tax of Agricultural Products and the Tax on Animals created a heavy burden for the villagers. Kafaoğlu quotes Ökte and mentions that the tax paid by the villagers did not create any reactions since this tax did not have a major impact on poor people’s life since they were already living in conditions of severe deprivation (2002: 66,71).

According to Prime Minister Saraçoğlu, the main purpose of the tax on wealth and earnings was to decrease the amount of circulating money and to obtain the money necessary to cover the needs of the country. However, in his speech at the

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<sup>24</sup> For studies analyzing the taxation categories in detail, see: Rıdvan Akar (2000) and Ayhan Aktar (1999).

TGNA, he argued that the tax on wealth and earnings was a revolution in the sense that it secures the domination of the market. It also destructs the foreign elements active in the market. The words of “We will put the Turkish Market into the hands of the Turkish people” clearly shows that the target of the policy was to nationalize Turkish economy (Barutçu, 263). As Çerkezyan, in *The World is Enough for All*, points, a lot of large commercial buildings in *İstanbul*, owned by Armenians and the Anatolian Greeks, were sold to Turks. As in the section analyzing the discourse of the exile, here, too, the German influence and the role of the Union and Progress are mentioned. The influence of Germany upon Turkey is a recurring discourse:

The one who did us this was the National Chief of Turkey. What he did was obviously the antagonism of the Christianity what he did... He did everything what the Union and Progress did, only the massacre was lacking but he could not dare it since its time did not come. Because the German armies came, the 6<sup>th</sup> German army commanded by Marshall von Nogh was taken completely as the prisoner of the war in the Stalingrad. Following this, our hopes had fallen into collapse. 26 divisions of our soldiers were left standed in the eastern front until the end of the war. Turks' tendency was different, if Germany had succeeded to occupy the Soviet Union... they would have done massacre too. We even heard rumors in this direction. Such threats were whispered to the ears of the people who keep their way on Haydarpaşa Station, the real tendency was said by the words like “You have lived long enough” (2003: 125-126).

Supporting Çerkezyan's point on the German influence, Lewis claims that Turks admired Germans for one century and the Nazi torture was seen as a natural political consequence of the war.<sup>25</sup> Later, when the German influence significantly decreased and the Turkish government shifted mainly economic power from non – Muslim minorities to the Turkish entrepreneurs, the tax on wealth and earnings was annulled. Moreover, Panturanist groups were procecuted by the police because of their alleged conspiracy activities aiming to form a government, which would put Turkey in the war (1988: 301).

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<sup>25</sup> In spite of the weakness of the political relationships between Germany and Turkey, in late 1930's, there was a trade relation exceeding of 50%. This economical relationship also strengthened the political ties in time. In 1941, the nonaggression treaty between Germany and Turkey was signed and the economical and the diplomatic relations continued until 1944. Moreover, Turkey was silent about Germany's invasion of and Turkey declared that it would not obey to the articles of friendship treaty between Bulgaria and Turkey. Although Turkey tried to protect its neutrality, it was highly likely that Turkey continued to feel closer to Germany than other nations. Accepting the new year present of the German government in 1941, İnönü says that the heart of the Turkish nation is with Germany. Additionally, Saraçoğlu as the Prime Minister, states in a meeting with the German ambassador, that they are expecting the dissolution of Soviets, which will save the regions of the national minorities from being Russianized; the dream of the Turks for centuries (Akar, 2000: 18-19).

The work of Biberyan<sup>26</sup>, *Dady did not Go to Ashkale*, narrates the story of a young man, Baret, who had to go to Ashkale. Being sent to Ashkale and the tax on wealth and earnings are turning points for the family, a continuous comparison is made between the times before and after going to Ashkale. The character who has just finished the military service cannot believe in that he got rid of his *Nafia*<sup>27</sup> uniform: They “make you wear those heavy combat boot smelling sweat and leather and ‘walk’... There must be something wrong and he lives with the fear of being told the words of ‘you have not been discharged, come back, let’s see’”. In this state of mind, he feels that , “the discharge is something impossible” (Biberyan, 2000: 15). Baret was in the soft bed at home, a room without the smell of leather, foot and sweat, and there were not any bandolier hits on the shoulders and the most significantly, there were not any louse anymore (32). The heavy conditions in Ashkale became a touchstone in the lives of many non-Muslim people like Baret. He understood that, as a citizen of the Turkish Republic, he would always be the “other”, the non-Muslim minority from now on.

Waiting for being discharged for three and a half years, Baret feels like he lost his way. Taking the permission from *Nafia* and coming back home, he feels depressed. His dominant feelings are hopelessness and resentment; he does not feel joy of being at home again. He did not get what was happening. He could recognize that something got broken. “The break- up was within himself. In three years and a half, he could not see what was changing in his heart and in front of his sight. He saw the plain truth all of a sudden. And this was giving pain to him.” (Biberyan, 2000: 17).

The 12<sup>th</sup> article of the Tax on Wealth and Earnings Law regulates the sending of taxpayers who are unable to pay their taxes to the working camps. Ökte, in his memoir,

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<sup>26</sup> In this work of Biberian, a tragedy of a family is narrated. The family, who loses all of its wealth of the tax on wealth and earnings, lives longing for the past in frustration.

<sup>27</sup> *Nafia*: It means public works in Arabic language. It was an abbreviation for the Ministry of *Nafia* which means the ministry of Public Works. This word gained a special meaning during the Second World War. A certain part of non-Muslim citizens called for military service was made to work in the construction of railways and airports but the great majority of them was made to work in the construction jobs as well as in stone breaking. The people who were taken under the service of the *Nafia* and who wear a special brown uniform were called “*Nafia* soldiers” (Biberyan, 2000: 13).

states that 1400 people were subjected to forced labor. Akar mentions that 40.000 taxpayers were not able to pay their taxes in due time and 1400<sup>28</sup> people were sent to the camps to intimidate them. The tax payers were thus encouraged to pay the taxes in fear of camps, which were said to resemble Jewish concentration camps (Akar, 2000: 109).

The ones who did not pay their taxes were sent to *Deveboynu* Passage, *Van* and its surroundings, *Erzurum Zigana* Mountain, *Bitlis*, *Elazığ*, *Kopdağı*, *Diyarbakır*, *Siirt* and *Palu*. The obligation of work is regulated by the booklet numbered 1928 dated January 7, 1943. According to the booklet, the first ones to go to the camps were the ones who did not pay any amount of their tax payments. The second ones to go were the ones who partly paid. The women were exempted from the dispatch. 250 *kuruş* would be given as the equivalent of daily work, and 60 *kuruş* of it were cut off as the cost of food and shelter. According to Yalman, apart from its purpose to speed up tax collection, this policy sought to meet worker shortage (Akar, 2000: 109 – 112).

In Ashkale labor camp, which had the heaviest working conditions, 20% of the laborers lost their lives. Since there was no age limit, most of the deaths were the elder men. Many people got ill because of harsh weather conditions. The implementation of the forced labor was loosened in September 1943, and some laborers in Ashkale were sent to *Sivrihisar* in *Eskişehir* province. Some of them paid their loans and came back to *İstanbul* (Akar, 2000: 137).

Arus, the mother of Baret, narrates the events taking place during the absence of his son. She told the stories of war, rationing-card, coal shortage, lack of black pepper, lack of clothes, the high cost living (Biberyan, 2000: 19). There were never ending Ashkale disputes at home. Accusing her husband with incompetence, Arus says that, “Let your head come down! Was not I who paid the Wealth [tax] of your shop? If I did not exist, you would die in Ashkale!” (2000: 32). The tax not only destroyed the properties, but also the lives of people. Arus thinks that in *Nafia*, her son did not experience the deprivation they did at home. She further thinks that he was easily able to fill up his stomach. Her remarks of “[d]id you get good food, ha, Baret? Everybody here feels an appetite for your *tayın* (ration)” makes Baret quite sad. It seems more

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<sup>28</sup> These figures are given as 1229 in the study of Aktar (2002a: 149).

destructive that her mother does not understand the hardships he had to go through. He feels the pain for the cost he paid for his family but not the pain of their hunger. Because of this, her mothers' words "What kind of breads we had eaten here, such inedible breads. Neither the stomach nor the intestine was left. Your *tayins* (rations), oh of course, first, they look after you, and then, us" (2000: 14) creates anger rather than compassion in Baret's heart.

Even though it was not overtly expressed in the work, Baret thinks that he himself is sacrificed instead of his father. Since, after paying the tax for Baret's father, the family did not have any savings left to pay for Baret. In contrast to Çerkezian's emphasis on the ethnic identity, Biberyan deals with the theme of poverty. The words of Arus tell about the ration is indicative of social deprivation. It shows that not only non-Muslims but everybody was in poverty in that period.

As the Law of The Tax on Wealth and Earnings was accepted, three separate commissions were established in *İstanbul*. These commissions providing information for the Ministry of Finance finished their work within a month. Commissions demanded that people pay their taxes within 15 days after the lists with names and amounts are posted. The tax estimators of the Ministry of Finance determined who would pay which amount of tax. The report prepared by these estimators was given to the final commission, which would determine the amount of tax that the taxpayers were going to pay (Aktar, 2002a: 162). We see that the work of tax estimators was quite arbitrary as seen in the following paragraph. Ökte, in his memoir, expresses that on the charts coming to him, he saw the names of certain citizens, their professions and the amount of their wealth before and during the war.<sup>29</sup> A certain amount of interest would be charged in case of any delay.<sup>30</sup> The properties of the people who did not pay in due time were sold. The people who did not pay their taxes within a month were sent to the labor camps. The Tax on Wealth and Earnings Law is annulled on 1943 by the law 4501. As the law is annulled without the collection of the estimated amount of tax, the unpaid sum is not collected in 1944 with the law 4530 (Kafaoğlu, 2002: 62).

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<sup>29</sup> See: [http://www.angelfire.com/wy/yaw/Varlik\\_Vergisi/Itiraf/Itiraf.html](http://www.angelfire.com/wy/yaw/Varlik_Vergisi/Itiraf/Itiraf.html).

<sup>30</sup> 1% and 2% for the first and the second weeks respectively.

According to Aktar, as a result of this tax policy, the tendency for extravagant consumption in *İstanbul* was punished and the debilities of the Republic bureaucracy were revealed. 87% of taxpayers in *İstanbul* were non-Muslim whereas Muslim taxpayers were only 7%. The criteria for weighing richness was not only income but also consumption and living attitudes. Living in a good neighborhood, spending the summer in *Büyükdada*, and participating in Republic Balls were sufficient for being placed in the highest taxation rank. (Aktar, 2002a: 155).

With the words of Arus, “[t]here were nothing left, they took all we have. We could have evaded the certain amount of tax, we did not do that and we remained on the naked wood” expresses how they were impoverished. In her view, “[o]thers did not give everything. They had gone to Ashkale, they came back now, their situation is now better than in the past. Your father gave whatever he owned from the first day. ‘Do not give it all’, I said, ‘Wait for a while’. ‘Everyone is evading certain things, you give it at the last moment, if necessary’, he did not listen to me, now we are sitting on the naked wood” (Biberyan, 2000: 21). Angry with her husband, Arus reproaches him (32). However, having health problems, the man did what he was obliged to do as a Turkish citizen without realizing that the punishment of being a good Turkish citizen was poverty. In the work, there is silence about the issues of who appropriated the properties and how. However, the policies of the Turkish Republic is responsible for their poverty. Moreover, the state treated honest people cruelly. According to the work, the ones who succeeded not to pay the tax loans or paid less, are living in prosperity now.

Tax on wealth and earnings was a method applied by many European states in that period. Property owners, merchants, farmers have all been affected by this policy. As the state did not believe that capital owners would honestly declare their wealth, commissions were established. Shaw & Shaw (1983: 471) claims that most of the Muslim Turkish people paid their taxes whereas the non-Muslims tried “everyway to hide their wealth and to evade it from the taxes since they never accepted the country as their homeland.” Therefore, the estimator commissions determined taxes of non-Muslims much higher than Muslims. This ruined the life of non-Muslims who have honestly declared their wealth. Baret’s father Diran is among

these honest businessmen. In order to be able to pay the tax, he sells all his immovable properties and loses his job. Still, he cannot prevent his son from being sent to the labor camps.

In 1951, Faik Ökte published his book titled *The Calamity of Tax on Wealth and Earnings*. The book puts the issue on the agenda again. Saraçoğlu, the Prime Minister of the period and the architect of the Tax on Wealth and Earnings, says “if I faced the same financial conditions under the same circumstances, ... I would not hesitate to renew it.” Mehmet Faruk Gürtenca supports Saraçoğlu and accepts the Tax on Wealth and Earnings as a total contribution of the people of one nation to national defense. In his view, the ones who enjoyed the family wealth most, of the prosperity by not joining the army, not paying their taxes... began to scream”. These people “who did not have their shares of self-respect” are putting everybody in a state of alarm and confusion now (Bali, 1997: 51). Saraçoğlu, in his second declaration, asserts that the Tax on Wealth and Earnings are among his most favorite deeds. There were two basic ways that they could follow, they either would collect the *Aşar* tax again or would collect tax from rich people. He claims that they overcome the poor finances by following the second way, and it was a good law. He also adds that majority of tax was collected in *İstanbul* so, the wealth was in the hands of non-Muslim people. Feridun Kandemir reminds Saraçoğlu that they could only want people to give as much as they had and they sent the people who did not have enough to Ashkale “in old railway cars in poor conditions, without lighting, without heating system, with broken glasses and cold as ice like people were animal herds”. Besides, he asks Saraçoğlu what kind of a lesson they got from this experience. The only answer he could get was silence (Bali, 1997: 52).

Diran, the father of Baret, goes to the brother of his wife, who got rich in the postwar period to ask for a job. Suren had become a rich and powerful man as a result of the changes in economic conditions. He was an ordinary poor man in the past (Biberyan, 2000: 55). He tells Diran that, “Were you such a man to fall into this position, Mūsū Diran? You had a good status, did not you? Now you can not interpret this only by luck or such thing. You made many mistakes, quite many. Accept that you did not think of your home, your children. Was it necessary to give all of the Wealth [Tax]. You did not think of, you did not, you were frightened” (58).

Including his wife, everyone was thinking that he was egoist. "A selfish man who does not think of his family, his children! Was it really a bad thing not to think of his family, his children? Why did he have to think of his family first? Who established this rule? Why does not his family think of him? Why Arus is reproaching him all the time with his weakness? Why did I have to sacrifice myself? Why you always have to be the soldier who sacrifices himself?"(58-59). Suren gives the profile of a businessman loyal to the state as quoted by Aktar as well: "You will obey, do not raise your voice when it is necessary. If they tell that you are the donkey, you would say I am the donkey, and you would apologize. They will yell at you, they will curse you but you will not give any response. It is not an easy thing to be successful in life. Break out your pride a bit. You can get nothing by disobedience. we obeyed many things..."(59). Upon hearing all, Diran feels degraded, especially while carrying the food package that Suren hands him (Biberyan, 2000: 62).

Baret asks his uncle how Suren became a rich man. When Suren's partner was conscripted for the Twenty Divisions of soldiers (*Yirmi Sınıf Askerlik*), he entrusts his personal property to Suren. Suren sells them for a good price. When his friend comes back Suren tells him that he sold the properties for a cheap price. But he pays his friend on the basis of the prices of three years ago. The law of the National Protection legitimizes his unjust earning and he becomes rich. The way Suren gets rich represents the changing social values the era. National Protection law enacted by the Saraçoğlu government decreased state intervention and put an end to price controls (Koçak, 1986: 358). While the purpose was to stop black marketing, a new businessman profile emerges. This was the man of robbery, of unfaithfulness who defines his identity only in terms of the money. He is the one who was somehow able to could protect himself from the effects of the tax on wealth and earnings. Yet, by 1943, a great majority of minorities earning their money through trade had bankrupted as they had to sell their immovable properties to be able to pay their tax. Aktar says that, through this policy, the market was cleaned from the foreign elements. Still, Turkish Muslim elements could not immediately fill the gap (1999: 19).

Dırtad, Baret's uncle, interprets the situation of Baret's father as, "[t]he Wealth hit on us badly. Others could put things in order; your father is not a businessman of

this *type*" (Biberyan, 2000: 44)<sup>31</sup>. The author defines the tax on wealth and earnings as the tax put in the cities for once, determined freely by the commissions established under the leadership of the highest local administrator of the city, without any chance of appeal in courts. The implementation, which includes labor camps, resulted in a material and a spiritual ruin for non-Muslim minorities it was targeting at.

After the death of his father Baret learns that his father was quite sick at heart. He finds the notebook of his father. He reads the lines starting with "they took my son" written in 1941.

Money for Baret, medicine for Baret, food package for Baret, wool sock for Baret, for Baret to Ihsan Bey, for Baret to Mūsū Kevork, for Baret, for Baret... He remembered that once a month, one-parcel and forty-fifty forfeits of a kurus were sent from home regularly until 1943. Until the Wealth... He turned the collection of papers upside down to find the year of the Wealth, but it was absent. This time the 1945 came out of the masses of papers.... 'The cash' was being melted. The rent, the electric, meat, vegetable, oil... (...) 'Baret is back!' In the continuation of the notebook, which was written in English, he notices that the amount of the money given to him steadily decreases. He sees an entry showing the money of 50 liras given by himself to the family once, after finding a job. They were running short of cash as his mother told him not to give any money to his father. He completely blushes (Biberyan, 2000: 189 - 190).

While Baret used to think that his family sacrificed him for their own comfort, upon reading the notebook he learns that the situation was quite different. His Father was ill before the imposition of Wealth tax and he was totally dependent on medicines. The death of his father becomes another touchstone in his life just as Ashkale. He goes home and collects his belongings and leaves home: "He wanted to die. To starve, to be tortured, to die. He wanted to bear everything on his own So that other would die, they would not be tortured" (Biberyan 2000: 195).

The Armenians, in *Dady did not Go to Ashkale*, are regarded as the rich persons since they were in the trade business. The poorer Armenians are not even mentioned. Baret, who left his home, finds a job and a shelter by the support of his soldier friend Çamur. In one of his talks with his colleagues, he claims that the times have changed now. Mustafa says that "You are Armenian but they (referring to rich Armenians) are exploiting you too. Ours do not understand this, they title as "giaour". They assume that the giaour do not exploit other giaour men, or he would

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<sup>31</sup> The italics belong to the author.

not exploit themselves if he was not a *giaour* they imagine that he is exploiting since he is *giaour*. I know there are no differences...”(Biberyan, 2000:198). He says that their boss Keçeli unjustly became rich by exploiting them. “He get state orders during the war. I do not know how he got them. The building contractors preferred doing business with the *gavur*. You see, supposedly, he made us work day and night for the benefit of the country paying us only daily wages, not more than that. Now, he is extremely rich.” He becomes rich because of the illegal business he does although he pays the tax on Wealth and Properties (200).

Since Baret could not get ahead in *İstanbul*, he goes to Anatolia. He comes back after so many years, upon hearing the news about the illness of his mother. Mistress Azniv, the landlord where his mother lives with his sister, visits them to meet Baret (Biberyan, 2000: 359). The woman suspects that Baret had become a smuggler in the south. She asks whether he faced any obstacles as an Armenian. She wants to learn how the change of power is reflected in Anatolia. The speech gains a political dimension; it comes to the problem of Cyprus and Anatolian Greeks. Arus says that, “The problem is not to be an Armenian or an Anatolian Greek. If there is an unrest in one country, everybody would be influenced”. Azniv wants to learn Baret’s opinion about the Cyprus problem. Baret mentions that there was no Cyprus problem in Anatolia. “Actually, there has not been any Cyprus problem ‘there’ in these years. They thought that the Korea problem is more important to them. There were people who went there, who died there. The Cyprus problem was in the realm of foreign politics, like a news seen in the newspapers which occurs somewhere in the world, in a foreign country. Now, he felt as if he went on a trip, went to that foreign country and suddenly faced that problem.” (Biberyan, 2000: 358). People are troubled because of the Cyprus problem. On the other hand, Arus lives in panic because she imagines that something is going to happen and they would lose their property (359).

They evaluate the circumstances in the country. Arus tells that the administrators of Armenian community “are beggars, illiterate men of the past who even can not write their names... When they earn some money they become men”. Azniv summarizes the situation as follows:

It happened like this all the time...Who organized the deeds of our nation from the old times? The sellers of dry goods, producers of the hand-printed scarfs, the hardware sellers, the sellers of herbs...Our community did not like the politicians who has a formation. For that reason, our nation was shaped by its job with the calculations of a grocer... He came from the villages, became a trader in the bazaar, made money... Those who are from İstanbul are not left in İstanbul as the time went by. This would be the real and the ultimate collapse of the Byzantium (Biberyan, 2000: 361).

According to Baret, people are quite worried:

Everybody was getting troubled if nothing happens for a long time. They were finding something unnatural in peace, may be they were getting nervous. They were looking for the black clouds in the horizon and looking forward to see that it hindered the sun. Was not this a collective masochism? To leave their fortunes in the hands of someone, who would not change it or make it worse, was not this hidden drive of an unconscious suicide? May be Suren would become a deputy, (this Suren of ours), Çamur would become a man (party and the like), Haybeden would go to the summerhouse and administer the social institutions. With the proud of being "more diplomat than the best one", Keçeli would believe in that he sucked 'the central inspectors into the cage'... They would swear for obeying coming and going governments, but no one would believe in them while they believed that they made them believe in. They would do the trade, they would become a millionaire, winking their eyes, they would say, 'how foxy we are'. They would tell the stories of Hamid, the Union, the People. The Armenians would wait for the prescriptions written by these "best diplomats" for their unsolvable problems" (Biberyan, 2000:362).

Nevertheless, the peaceful environment does not continue for a long time. The events of the September 6-7 were approaching. Arus talks about the feathers (a shawl made by the feather) his husband brought her from Paris. She is afraid of that they would come and pillage them. The author makes Hilda talk about her mother: "How can I know who he is? The Cyprus problem would cost to us. Now, all the time, she talks about the Cyprus problem. They would come and take the rags. She had completely gone senile" (Biberyan, 2000: 372). What is not mentioned in this work is the domination of an ongoing fear about the possibility of losing life and property. Any possible political crisis might have effect on their life, minorities easily. Therefore, it can be said from Biberyan's work that people from the minority groups do not trust the government and are anxious about the future of their life and property.

In the light of the literary works analyzed it can be concluded that, the Tax on Wealth and Earnings was collected without any fair criteria and the tax arbitrarily estimated by officials. Estimator commissions abused their duties. As it was

impossible to appeal in courts and arbitrary tax collection ended with a substantial amount of wealth loss by Turkish non-Muslims (Koçak, 1986: 370). This policy can be considered to be a product of domestic affairs and of foreign politics. The German influence was influential in the harsh treatment of minorities and establishment of labor camps. However, Koçak contends that it is wrong to argue that this situation was the result of foreign factors. The aim of creating a national economy sought the aim of appropriating the properties of non-Muslims and transfers them to the hands of the Muslims long ago before the foundation of the Turkish Republic (372). In the Republican period, the Tax on Wealth and Earnings Law is also implemented to realize this goal. These policies, which have their roots in the nationalization politics of the Union and Progress, began with the Great Exchange, and continued with the Law of the National Housing and 1934 Events of the Thrace<sup>32</sup>, which are not analyzed in this study since they are not narrated in the literary works at hand. After the displacement of Anatolian Greeks from Anatolia in 1955 and in 1964, these policies reached their ultimate goal: Turkicizing and Islamizing Anatolia.

#### **5.4. September 1955 Events: “Cyprus is Turkish! Cyprus is Turkish!” \***

There is not much information about the events of September 6-7 other than the information hidden between the lines, the memories and a few newspaper clippings. We will try to analyze the events of September 6-7 using the texts of oral history studies. For the sake of not distancing from our original subject matter of the study, the Cyprus problem would be occasionally mentioned.

Çerkezyan narrates in his memoir the events of September 6-7 1955 in detail. Anti-Greek demonstrations were made in each city during those days. He mentions that announcements such as “The Greek rowdy, we are coming!” which were broadcasted in radios provoked people (189). On September 6, the New Morning

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<sup>32</sup> The theory of the Sun Language and the thesis of Turkish History, are the dominant ideologies of the 1930s to create the Great Turkish nation. By the Code of Housing numbered 2510, the Jews living in the Thrace are forced to migrate. Levi (1996:10-17) and Okutan (2004: 246-265) explain the events of the Thrace by Nazi influence and by the antagonism against Jews. Toprak (1996: 19-26) on the other hand, explains it with the responsibility of the PPR cabinet in power. Aktar (1996: 45-55) claims that, this is the extension of the Turkicization politics, in addition to saying that the purpose was the evacuation of Thrace, and to force minorities to settle in *İstanbul*, where they can be put under control.

\* *Kıbrıs Türktür, Kıbrıs Türktür!*

Post (*Yeni Sabah Postası*) published an article titled “This Shameless Spoiled Acts Must Be Stopped From Now On” while the Night Post (*Gece Postası*) published an article titled “The Flag of the Greek Rowdies [*palikarya*] Can Not Sway in *Konak* Square Any More!”. At the same time, there were rumors about a bomb explosion in Atatürk’s house in Thessalonica. As a result, Turkish people began looting and vandalizing, screaming: “Cyprus is Turkish!”

Sarkis, in his memoirs, goes home. His mother did not recognize what was going on. As an immediate solution for the difficult situation, a Turkish flag is found to hang on the window. Her mother puts a white scarf given by a Muslim woman. Her mother knows what she should do since they had gone through similar events before. Therefore, the scene was completed with the images, which are assumed to belong to Turkish family: the Turkish flag, and an elder woman covering her head. In the neighborhood, it is not known that Sarkis is Armenian since they had just moved in. He takes his small knife with two cutting edges and sits on a chair in front of the house. The leader of the pillagers wrapped the Turkish flag on his shoulders like a towel (*peşkir*). Followed by the crowd behind him, they destroy everything in front of them. Not only the houses of the Anatolian Greeks but also the houses, which they assumed to belong to the Christians. “At the end, all of them are irreligious, they are not different from each other...” (189). After starting a fire in the Anatolian Greek Church located on Yedikule Street they were gathered in front of Çerkezyan’s house. Çerkezyan tells them that the owner of the house is Armenian but that he himself is Turkish. His mother, offers them coffee just like a Muslim women would do. A military captain approaches them with his soldiers. He says to him, “The young man, I congratulate you, you knew the time of drinking coffee quite well. I congratulate you since every Turkish man should be like you! But the soldiers took the control now, please drink your coffees inside” Being a Muslim was the only criterion for being rescued from this destruction. Although it is not explicitly stated, the idea that the non-Muslims deserved this punishment is predominant. Since they are *giaour*, they are all villains. The non-Muslims, which mean the *giaour* people, were punished. Even the soldier who represents the military force of state is happy to see a Turkish man who enjoys this vandalism. Furthermore, his drinking coffee is a cause of congratulating him.

While the events directed against non-Muslims in *İstanbul* and *İzmir* were taking place, a conference was being organized on the Cyprus problem in London. Parties to the conference came with different demands on the table. Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs asks the right for Cyprus to determine its own future on its own. The British Minister of Foreign Affairs believes that this issue is domestic and he defends a liberal constitution in addition the right of self- administration. Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs demands the transfer of the administration of the island its side again. Zorlu, the Turkish Minister of the Foreign Affairs, thinking that he could not make much progress, stops the meeting in halfway, with the excuse of the bombings happened in Thessalonica and comes back to *Ankara* on September 6 (Özyıldız, 1986: 139).

On August 16, 1954 Turkish government was in a difficult situation as the Greeks put the problem into the agenda of the United Nations and carried it onto the international platform. Although the Prime Minister Menderes said that “Cyprus will never belong to Greeks, we are taking all the necessary precautions as the government”, no preparations were made about the matter Bil (1976: 105-106) expresses the events taking place at the backstage of the London Conference in his memoir. According to the deciphered telegraph sent to Menderes by Zorlu, who comes from London, they should have complaints to declare in order to have a chance in the summit meeting: “We must be able to say that we cannot control the Turkish public opinion”. Additionally, he asks the government “to become more active” (1976: 110). The biggest fear of the government is the potential request of Greeks to claim *Gökçeada* and *Bozcaada* after realizing “enosis” in Cyprus. In order to support Zorlu, Bayar and Menderes prepared a plan. Accordingly, in order to end the meeting in London and to put Athens into a difficult position, a bomb is exploded in the garden of Ataturk’s house in Thessalonika. Additionally, the demonstrations are organized in *İstanbul* to intimidate non-muslims. Shops of few the Anatolian Greeks would be stoned. “According to the organized plan, some of the trusted militants of Democrat Party would start the demonstrations. The Turkish officials would take no notice of this to a certain level” (Bil, 1976: 111).

On September 6, the bomb explodes. Menderes immediately wants the news to be broadcasted in radios. The evening post of Express, which is known with its

proximity to the Democrat Party, announces the news first. The newspaper that normally prints 20.000 copies was printed 290.000 that night. The groups organized by the Association “Cyprus is Turkish”, began to march from *Taksim* square. The group first set the printing shops of Anatolian Greek newspapers on fire. The event aggravated later on: “It spread and resulted in the destruction of the houses, workplaces, churches and graveyards of Anatolian Greek citizens; it was also directed upon Armenian and Jewish citizens. More than 4 thousands shops, 73 churches, 110 hotels, 27 drugstores, 20 factories, about 2 thousand 600 houses, 52 Anatolian Greek and 8 Armenian schools were burned, destructed and pillaged. Three people got killed and 30 were injured” (Çelikkan, 07/09/2002).<sup>33</sup> That news creates the effect of a bomb. The public is full of anger. Before this event, the press had already spread rumors that the Anatolian Greek Patriarchate in *İstanbul* collected aid from the rich Anatolian Greeks to support the cause of Cyprus Greeks. At the same time, there were claims that Cyprus Greeks have started to kill the Turks. Following the news about the bombing, Menderes gives a press conference. The events start the night of September 6, the newspaper of *Express* announces the events with the headline “A bomb in the Atatürk’s house” written in big print letters. According to Bil, the events become so widespread that “it exceeded the limits” (1976: 113). Bil and his friends, who are the members of the Association “Cyprus is Turkish”, are considered responsible for the events and are taken under arrest. After 6 months Bil is released and got appointed himself to Beirut as press attaché (123 –124).

In his work *Talk Mr. Halil Talk*, Kebapçıyan narrates his childhood memories. They were at home with his mother. They look at the *Taksim* Square from the window of their house. The voices steadily getting louder come from the street: “Cyprus is Turkish! Cyprus is Turkish!” His mother locks the door of the house and begins to

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<sup>33</sup> Yelda describes the situation with the following words: “It is obviously seen from the results of the events that the attackers were harboring evil intentions against the life, property and chastity of 3 dead persons, over 500 wounded people 50 of which have severe health problems. There were the destruction and the pillaged of 5622 places including 73 churches, 1 synagogue, 16 springs of water regarded as sacred by Orthodox Greeks, 2 monasteries and 2 graveyards, additionally the burning and the destruction of 14 houses, 6 shops, one pavilion, one consulate building, one Catholic Church, three automobiles and the building of the Committee of the English Culture in *İzmir*. The streets were filled with the commodities taken outside of the pillaged shops.... And the fear, the tears, the insecurity as well as the desire to live in a more secure place, none of which could be expressed in numbers ...” (1996:21).

pray (2000: 18). The crowd in the street was walking with rods in their hands. He narrates the events from the viewpoint of a young child:

I hear the voices of the breaking glasses. I see the people entering into a shop; but is not this shop closed at this time of day? ... They walked out with the piles of clothes in their hands. One man holds one side of the cloth and throws it in the air. How beautifully he did this. This man must be very skillful. He is stepping on the cloth on the ground and tearing it into pieces. Others are doing the same thing as well. The ground is filled with the colorful cloth pieces... From their outfit you can see they were poor. They are yelling and shouting. I do not understand what they were saying. I only hear the word of the "giaour" from their bent mouths continuously.... I wish my father were here, would not on a trip with my mother. (...) They are tearing our door into pieces. The sound of the broken window. Yet, there is not any window on our window.... They did not come; they did not enter into our house. They followed their way downward. There were other shop windows more. 'Cyprus is Turkish, Cyprus is Turkish!' (Kebabçıyan, 2000: 19-21).

In the coming day, the parents of the child come back home. The grandmother lies in her bed in fever. The things which became visible in daylight were: "the asphalt was not seen because it was covered with the pieces of clothes, the broken glasses, the toys crashed into pieces, and other thousands of things whose names I even did not know". He hears his father speaking with a friend; saying that ten young girls were raped (Kebabçıyan, 2000: 21). The destruction, the pillage and the events were frightful in the full sense of the word. Only having the identity of a non-Muslim was sufficient to be subjected to these.

Çerkezyan, the author, counts the names of the places where the events occurred. He had two shops in *Kumkapı*. His friend Nevzat saw the pillagers, he wrote "Cyprus is Turkish" on a piece of paper and puts it up shop's door. Thus, he saved one of the shops belonging to Çerkezyan (2003: 192-193). As in previous examples, ordinary Turkish islanders are depicted as friends. The Turks who act against them were nationalists and the impoverished people who cooperate with the destructive government.

Çerkezyan visits his friend Hırant in *Beyoğlu* to learn about his situation. Hırant the pharmacist lost everything. He goes to the United States after these events and works as a worker in one of the drugstores. “He was Hırant *Bey*” but became “Hırant, the worker [*amele*]” says Çerkezyan, and even expresses that he wrote in



*Figure 7. Beyoğlu after the Events of 6-7 September*

Akar, R., (2003) *Toplumsal Tarih*, p.117

one of his letters that “I wish the ones who put us in this situation will have the same coming to them” (2003:195). This event causes people to leave their countries and live in poverty throughout their lifetime.

*Beyoğlu* was in a terrible state as seen in *Figure 7*. Çerkezyan (2003: 195) says that it was not possible to believe in the scene. “Gypsies collected goods from the streets for many days. There were clocks, sewing machines, and refrigerators thrown into the streets. They were putting the piles of the English fabrics at the back of their vehicles, one pulling it one side and the other to the other side; they tear it apart until they turn fabric into the state of a fiber. How they invent this, that grand pile of fabric goes and becomes the fiber instead”. Toker (1965: 99 –100) narrates that night in his memoirs. Hearing the events in midnight, he takes his car and sets off the way. He goes to *Beyoğlu*. Mentioning that he could never forget

that state of *Beyoğlu*, he develops the same description with Çerkezyan. The whole street was filled with clothes, refrigerators, radios, and with washing machines. He also expresses that the official descriptions call this scene as “the divine excitement of the nation” later on. He says that, “[y]et, there was no divinity in this action. Beginning from *Taksim Square*, the street was in an impassable state. They get out of the car to be able to go to Tunnel, walk upon the clothes: “the persons with the rods in their hands looking like bandits were breaking items and that and at the same time were exhibiting a merciless antagonism towards wealth. He hears the words of ‘they earn ten thousands of liras, but sells the cheapest thing for an expensive price’. According to Toker, these events are a reaction to the dreadful development plan of the Democrat Party. According to him, neither Greek Cypriots nor Anatolian Greeks are the subject matter. The reaction was against the rich people. Toker describes this situation with the words of “The ghetto walked in the city center”.

Çerkezyan tells that the Menderes government allocated 60.000.000 liras from the budget to compensate for the losses of Anatolian Greek citizens. According to him, the real purpose of this act is to delude people. The newspapers printed on September 11, announces the foundation of a committee to provide aid for the people who suffered in *İzmir* and *İstanbul*. The committee was established under the aegis of the President of the Republic and under the honorary presidency of Prime Minister. Collecting money and aids from the banks, this committee would distribute it to the people who suffered. However, compensations could not be offered with this method, so a law was approved in the TGNA on February 28, 1956 numbered 6684 stating that the government would pay the cost amount up to the 60 million liras (Tarih ve Toplum, 1986: 14).

The martial law was declared later after the events. The army that has almost not interfered with events took control. In the assembly, during the meetings about the martial law (TGNA Record of the Journal, the September 12,1955), Mehmet Özbey, the Burdur deputy says “this disaster happened only and only as a plot prepared by the plans and the programs of the communists” and “to show mercy to these crooks means murder” (*an illegal act*). Looking for a scapegoat, the government stated that this deed was performed by the communists. 45 persons

having leftist tendencies including Aziz Nesin, Hasan İzzettin Dinamo, and Asım Bezirce were arrested. Aziz Nesin learns that he is held responsible for 6-7 September events after being taken under arrest. In his memoir, he argues who is real responsible for the event was actually Menderes government themselves. When Menderes government lost the control of the events, they had to put the blame on someone else: "Such guilty people must be found that, the world and priorily the USA (*the United States of America*) would approve them, or otherwise do not oppose even if they do not approve!" (1986: 48). At the beginning of 1956, everybody was set free without any explanation. Dosdoğru, emphasizes that these events were definitely not the result of people's uprising emotion. According to him, the leaders of the Democrat Party were to blame. They applied the terrible plot that they had written via their supporters in the Association "the Cyprus is Turkish", in the universities and higher schools as well in their party organizations (1993: 11-12).

When *Yassıada* Courts established after the military coup d'etat of May 27, 1960. In this Court, it was revealed that the bombing of Atatürk's house was in fact among the deeds of the Turkish secret service. The Council of Thessalonica, M. Ali Balin tried to persuade Hasan Uçar to commit this act, but when he could not succeed Oktay Engin, a student from the law faculty in Thessalonica getting scholarship from the Turkish government was put under the service (Çelikkan). In the coming years, in an interview with Fuat Köprülü, he confesses that Menderes and Gedik who were inspired by Zorlu designed the events. The purpose is to menace the Greeks, yet, when the events got out of control, it was seen proper to explain events with communist agitation. The government supported Oktay Engin, who performed the deed, to his father and his sister (Kuseyri, June 5, 1960). In an interview published in *Tempo* magazine on June 9, 1991, General Sabri Yirmibeşoğlu evaluates the events. He says that "the events of September 6-7 were the deed of the Directorate of the Special War and it was a great organization fulfilling its function" (Yelda, 1996: 22).

It later became obvious that the one who bombed Atatürk's house in Thessalonica was the member of the NOI (National Organization of Intelligence, *MIT-Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı*). Oktay Engin who was studying law in Greece at that moment

interprets the events in an interview with Nasuhi Güngör published in the newspaper *The New Sunrise*:

Of course, our innocence does not rule out the responsibility of the state in the event. Here my opinion is, perhaps without intention, that government had a fault in taking precautions. Otherwise, how events to such a great extent could have happened? Considering the risk in those days, they should have taken better precautions. There was the tension of the Cyprus matter. In a similar manner, the Greek officials should have provided better protection for important places like the house of Atatürk. (22/01/2001).

Following the events, Engin escapes to Turkey and he gets employed by the Municipality of *İstanbul*. Later he works in the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* as a translator. He was brought to significant position in the national intelligence and later on he was appointed as the governor of *Nevşehir* (Yelda, 1998: 22).

According to Çerkezyan' memoirs, these events were the result of a provocation started by the Bayar-Menderes rule. Their results however, turned out to be extremely destructive. Following these events, many Anatolian Greeks and Armenians left *İstanbul* to settle abroad. The state and its representatives again proved to be untrustworthy for the minorities living in Turkey. The destruction and the traumas experienced in this period by the minorities are explicitly treated in the literary works. Nevertheless, again the point met with silence is the reasons of these events. It is not mentioned that the non-Muslim population in Turkey is used as factor of bargain by Turkish government in international politics. The fact that minorities are considered as factor of bargain implicitly means that they never become a part of "us". Given the lack of trust in the relationship between the state and the citizens belonging to the minorities, the latter perceived themselves as the others, the ones who are discriminated. They constructed the image of a Turk on the basis of this background.

Mösyö Suren, on of the characters in Kebabcıyan's work, says "the people must have streamed out!". According to him, "Menderes gave permission to such thing for once and people got streamed out, but this was a temporary situation. In any case, the things would be the same as it used to be. The only thing that would not come back is the friends who left the country" (Kebabcıyan, 2000: 22).

In *İzmir*, similar events those in *İstanbul* took place. These events were used to defend the Turkish thesis on the Cyprus issue in London Conference. Kılıçdere emphasizes that, these events are typical examples which show how the Anatolian Greeks with Turkish citizenship are used in the relationship between Turkey and Greece (2000: 41). Vartanyan states in one his articles published in the Internet that he had to be separated from many of his friends because of these events. In his view, all these events led to a sudden decrease in the population of Anatolian Greeks. According to Vartanyan, these events were “the expression of being oppressed (*Turkish*) in the view of the minorities”. Nevertheless, Vartanyan believes that “a country which appreciates the value of its minorities should also appreciate the value of its own people”.<sup>34</sup>

While some people who evaluate the events of September 6-7 emphasize the role attributed to minorities by the Menderes Government, others emphasize economic factors. On the other hand, Yelda argues that these events should be considered as a racial national movement rather than a mere “hostility against the wealth”. There were presumptions about the excessive richness and dominance of minorities in the economic life i.e., non-Muslims are rich. These events helped with the nationalization of the capital. Therefore, for Yelda, the September 6-7 can be explained with the implicit aim of nationalization of capital and nationalization and Islamization of the economy (1996: 11).<sup>35</sup>

Between 1954 and 1957, the Democrat Party applied deliberation policies to tackle with the economic problems. A closely controlled foreign trade regime was being implemented and credit was sought from the USA to assure the budget balance. In order to respond to the growing discontent with the government, fake ceremonies of laying the foundations of factories were organized. Nevertheless, the government drowns into a variety of problems ranging from the foreign politics to the financial shortage (Tuncay, 1990a: 183). The increase of foreign debts, the rise

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<sup>34</sup> <http://www.bolsohays.com>

<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, the applied policies already impoverished the Anatolian Greeks: “With the law approved in the year 1932 with the code number 2007/11-6-32, certain occupations are forbidden to the Anatolian Greeks. With this racist law, the 30 forbidden occupations include these: being the tailors, the carpenters, the barbers, the doorkeepers, to rent rooms, being the servant, the insurance agent, the doctor, the photographer, the musician.” (Yelda, 1996: 11).

of inflation together with the unemployment and the black market made the life of people more difficult. In 1958, Democrat Party enters into a period of dissolution both due to bad economic conditions and authoritarian policies (Erođlu, 1990: 164). Kılıçdere emphasizes that the authoritarian policies and the economic problems led people to react on September 6-7, 1955 (2000: 34). Rising prices and increasing unemployment created a general social dissatisfaction. Cyprus problem further offended national feelings. The fear of losing Cyprus even together with the *Bozcaada* and *Gökçeada* was perceived as a serious threat. In order to tackle with the problem both economically and internationally, Menderes government provoked national feelings, which turned into acts of racism at the night of the September 6-7. The anger was directed towards the internal enemy, i.e. to *gavur* people who represent the other. The revenge was taken from the rich non-Muslim people who also wanted to take Cyprus.

Çerkezyan tells the story of how the Anatolian Greeks to move to Greece in 1964. The author compares 1964 and 1955. He says that in 1964 events such as the pillage, destruction and killing did not take place as they happened in the case of September 6-7 in 1955 in *İstanbul* and *İzmir*. The Anatolian Greeks were invited to the Police Stations and “convinced” to sign a statement stating, “I am going on my own will”. In fact, this was a formality since the signatures were in fact taken by threatening people : “Most of them went crying. The “potential enemies!” A woman on the stretcher is going, she has no power to walk; she is too counted as an ‘alternative enemy’. She is deported out of the country; the woman is going on the stretcher, “the potential enemy!” (Çerkezyan, 195). This situation is described in *Figure 8*.

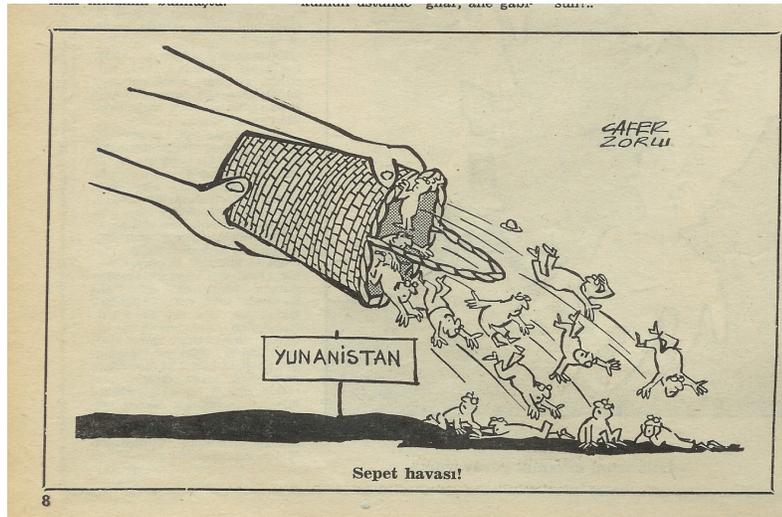


Figure 8. The Deportation of Anatolian Greeks in 1964  
 Akbaba, September 3, 1964, Year 42, Vol. 7, No. 36: 8

The attacks and the massacres of the Greek Cypriot nationalist rightist movement called EOKA had a big impact on Turkey in early 1960s. Turkey could not find international support for this problem. Printing press and broadcasting institutions became quite influential on the public opinion. On February 14, 1964 a motion of question is presented in the Assembly by Hürrem Kubat. He asks questions related to the number of Anatolian Greeks living in Turkey, and the amount of their tax payments. According to Akar and Demir (1999), the purpose was to threaten Greece (33-34). On March 16, 1964, the agreement signed with Greece on 1930 was annulled on the basis of the 36<sup>th</sup> article. The policy of deporting Anatolian Greeks started then. The Anatolian Greeks living in *İstanbul* were accused of smuggling, murder, tax evasion, of financially supporting Greek Cypriots. Seven rich businessmen above the age of 60 were chosen for the first party of deportation. Violation of the law numbered 2007 that is earning unjust income constitutes the basis of these deportations (Akar & Demir, 1999: 68).<sup>36</sup>

Çerkezyan, in his memoirs, claims that İsmet Ağa's [İsmet İnönü] tricks were behind these policies. He does not put the blame on common people who are uneducated. These people would say "the giaour deserves it". He cannot understand how the Turkish intellectuals remained silent to these policies. He

<sup>36</sup> For a detailed analysis of this issue, see Hülya Demir and Rıdvan Akar, *The Last Exiles of İstanbul*.

expresses his reaction to that, saying “[t]he ears of all of them are directed to *Ankara*. They do whatever the official mouth, the deep state says, they are afraid of stepping out of their words” (Çerkezyan, 2003: 196). In his opinion, the party in power is not different from tribes:

They even do not know what is republic, what is democracy. They even do not know to spell the name of people; Turkish people say ‘demirkirat’ (iron horse, a mispronunciation for the Turkish word of the democrat). Okay, but how someone who even does not know what democracy is can become a democrat? Celal Bayar said “we became democrat’ to Western states. So, you welcome, how this happened? ‘That is happened, somehow!’, The unionist of the yesterday... how can he become democrat in one night? Was not him, who said ‘the azan should be performed in the Arabic language’ as soon as he comes in power. Did not he provide the foundation for today, is abuses religion for political purposes? Do not these begin from that period? However, there are nobody who openly writes them down in this country.”

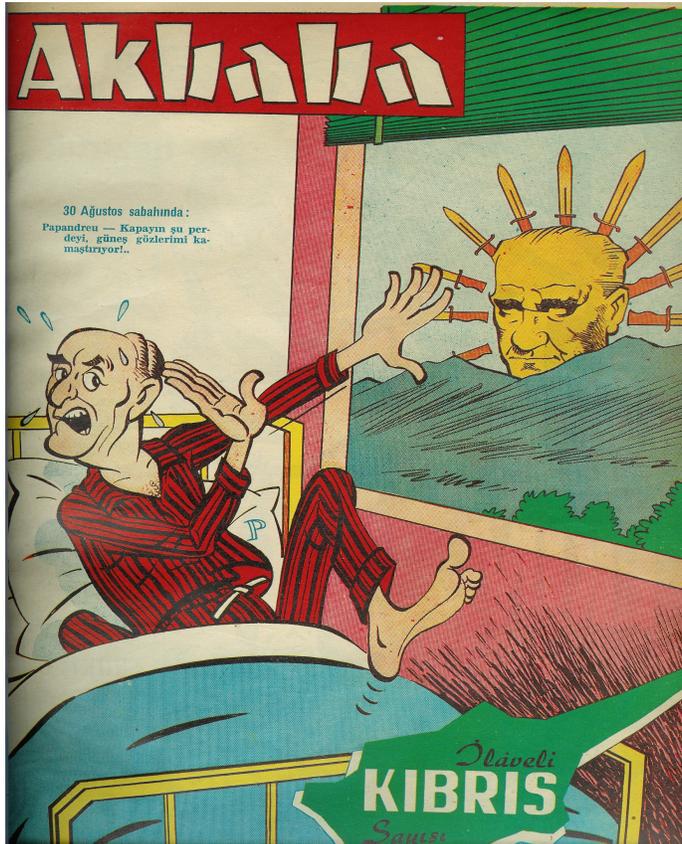


Figure 9. The Cyprus Issue

Akbaba, 27 August 1964, Vol. 7, No. 35, Year 42

After the deportation of many Anatolian Greeks in 1964, Turkish people were settled in *Imroz* and *Bozcaada* and the operation of Turkicization was performed (Akar & Demir, 1999: 11). The deported Anatolian Greek were allowed only to take twenty kilograms of goods and 22 dollars of money with them (1999: 14).

The deportation of almost 12.000 Anatolian Greeks with Turkish passports in 1964 can be considered as a final blow to the friendship politics developed by Atatürk and Venizoles in the 1930s. In 1964, minorities were once again used for an international politics like an asset. *Figure 9* describes this situation and gives an example for the rise of national sentiments on Cyprus issue. Anatolian Greek minority in Greece was put on the table to push the Greeks to an agreement about the Cyprus problem. The privileges given to the Anatolian Greeks by Lausanne treaty on the matters of education, religion and language were criticized by the national campaigns. People were discouraged from shopping from their stores.

To conclude, the population movement which began with the Great Exchange continued with Tax on the Wealth and on the Earnings, the events of the September 6-7 and the deportation of the Anatolian Greeks on 1964. These events clearly demonstrate the systemic implementation of anti-minority politics during the Republican period. This policy inhibited the development of a relationship based on trust between the state and the non-Muslim Turkish citizens. They always lived with the fear of loosing either their properties and even worse their lives. These policies convinced them that they would always be the other in these lands. These policies lead minorities to continuously produce their identities as “the other” as opposed to the Turkish national identity.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE ETHNIC IDENTITY

In the third section of the analysis, a different method is followed. In the previous two chapters, both leading discourses and sub-discourses, which are called as the themes, have been substantiated with factual historical events. In contrast to the previous chapters, conceptual framework of nationalism rather than historical facts are used in the interpretation of literary works. Yet, in this chapter, the focus is on discourses which constitute and maintain ethnic identities. In other words, the nationalist discourse, which supports the transition from the Ottoman conception of *millet* (a term which refers to the adherents of a particular religious creed/denomination or sect within the Ottoman Empire) to the Republican conception of nation is elaborated on this chapter. Due to that fact, the discourses on Armenian, Anatolian Greek, Pontus identity and the themes supporting these discourses will be analyzed in this chapter.

#### **6.1. The Armenian Identity: “The Remnants of the Swords Which Were Left behind Massacre”\***

Related with the Armenian identity, Gıdır’s work of *Minoritian*, Margosyan’s work *Tell Me Margos Where Are You From*, Kebapçıyan’s works *Talk Mr. Halil*, Biberyan’s works of *Dady Did Not Go to Ashkale* and *Alone People*, Aharonyan’s work of *The Bouncers on the Way of Freedom*, Fundermann’s work of *Giaour Elo*, Ceyhan’s work of *Who is Knocking on the Door*, Çerkezyan’s work of *The World is Enough for All* are analyzed in this chapter.

Aharonyan’s book compiling short stories under the title of *The Bouncers on the Way of Freedom (Azatutyan Canaparhin)*, put a heavy emphasis on the Armenian identity. As was mentioned in the third chapter, Aharonyan is the representative of

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\* Çerkezyan, 2003: 78. Çerkezyan states that all the property of his father, who was a banker, was confiscated in *Ereğli*. The family, which has lost all its money, is the only family among others that stayed in Anatolian after the First World War. He describes the situation of the Armenians as: with a violence of all times, with a planned implementation, they wanted to exterminate until the last individual is dead. The situation of the ones who survives this massacre, situation of the remnants of the swords was just like us” (2003:70-71). *Kırımdan geriye kalan kılıç artıkları*

Armenian literature and Armenian nationalism.<sup>1</sup> In his work, the heroic deeds of Armenians in their war against their enemies, i.e., Turks and the Kurds are narrated. Aharonyan struggled for independence of his nation, and the struggle of the nation determined its own fate. The following quote from Schelling, German philosopher, can clarify the reasons for the search for a nation by the Armenians: “Individuals are ... phantoms; they gain reality in so far as they have a place in a whole”. For Schelling, individuals can be free only as long as they define themselves with reference to the whole. When individuals come together to protect their particular interest, the whole, i.e. the state, is the only institution to provide freedom for the individual. Self-determination is necessary for the state in order to realize the individual’s freedom (Kedourie, 1961: 38)<sup>2</sup>. It is believed that spending effort to reach the aim put forth by Schelling, Aharonyan was named as “the first author who encourages to take part” in the right of self-determination by Keçeyan (2001: 3).

In his stories, Aharonyan narrates the events that occurred between 1894 and 1896. As it is stated in the fourth chapter, the raids of Armenian gangs to Turkish villages were suppressed by *Hamidiye* Regiments, the disagreement was carried

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<sup>1</sup> Avantis Aharonyan (August 2001) *The Bouncers on the Way of Freedom*, original editions between 1899-1913. This book covers the stories of heroic deeds narrates Armenian nationalism. The stories of the book were based on the events that took place between 1894-1896. The book narrates the heroic stories of the Armenian bouncers, tortures committed by Turkish and Kurdish people, rape, guerilla wars done for the sake of protecting their honor, their becoming an outlaw living on the mountains... For detailed information, see chapter 3.

<sup>2</sup> Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) was critical to Kant’s argument producing metaphysics and intractable difficulties. Kant’s system establishes one thing that “an epistemology exclusively based on sensation was unsatisfactory” (Kedourie, 1961: 34). “The things-in-themselves” by distinguishing from reality to fantasy gives the independence of the world perceived by the self. Fichte finds this awkward. An individual consciousness “makes its own world, and nothing outside this consciousness can form part of this particular world. ... an Ego ... embraces everything within itself” (35-36). Therefore, people themselves cannot know knowledge. A world is the product of a single consciousness that is based on “reality and coherence”. The universe is “an organic whole, no part of which can exist without the existence of all the rest ... Only reality can be known; and the only reality is the whole. Knowledge of the parts is illusory; no parts can be known by themselves, since they can not exist on their own, outside a coherent and ordered whole (Kedourie, 1961:37). F. W. Schelling (1775 – 1854) goes further from Fichte’s thought and he said: “Individuals are only phantoms like the spectrum. They are not modifications of the absolute substance, but merely imaginary apparitions” (Kedourie, 1961:37) In summary: “In this new theory, freedom is, ... a determination of the will according to self-imposed commands, since the theory holds that nothing outside consciousness can possibly exist. But individuals,... are phantoms; they gain reality in so far as they have a place in a whole. Consequently, the freedom of the individual, which ... self-realization, lies in identifying himself with the whole... Complete freedom means total absorption in the whole... From this metaphysics the post-Kantians deduced a theory of state... The state therefore is not a collection of individuals who have come together in order to protect their own particular interests; the state is higher than the individual and comes before him. It is only when he and the state are one that the individual realizes his freedom (Kedourie 1961: 38).

to the international platform after the Ottoman-Russian war. After these events, Armenian committees for independence were established in England. These committees had worked quite actively for independence, and their actions and rebellions within Ottoman territories increased. The author, who was ten years old in that period, personally witnesses the events. While the interventions of Europeans increases on the basis of the 61<sup>st</sup> article of the Berlin Agreement, “the first wave of the national resistance” takes place “in Vaspurakan (*Van*) and Taron (*Muş*)” (Keçeyan, 2001: 11). The leaders of the Union and Progress offer Armenians resistance and their cooperation with the enemy as an excuse for departing them on exile. The Armenians, who turned out to be the internal enemies and villains who co-operate with the enemy in the eyes of Turkish side, perceive themselves as supporters of a movement struggling for independence. The independence movement of the Armenian people speeded up in the 1860s. In this period, the nationalist movements in many parts of Europe were gaining strength. According to Tunaya, from 1865 to 1885, the Armenian committees were not much mentioned in Europe. Nevertheless, in 1885, the Armenians living in France, America, England and Austria developed a common movement and spoke about the cruelty of Turks. In 1887, in Geneva, the *Hınçak Party* was established. Later, it unified with the committees founded in the Caucasus and formed the *Taşnaksutyun Party* that means *the Federation of Armenian Revolution Committees*, in 1890 (Tunaya, 1995: 84). The purpose of the association was to unite different committees so as to provide aid for the guerrilla forces in Turkey. *Taşnaksutyun's* formation was as old as the idea of the Armenian nationalism. Marxism dominated the fifth congress of the Party, and in the congress held in the year of 1907, “a revolutionary action program” was accepted with a regulation book (86).<sup>3</sup>

This piece of information doesn't aim to the to analyze the historical evolution of Armenian nationalism but to determine dominant ideological thoughts which

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<sup>3</sup> Both the *Hınçak* Committee and the *Taşnaksutyun* Party organized actions in the last days of the Ottoman Empire. While “The *Erzurum* Rebellion (1890), the event of Musa Bey (1889), the Kumkapı demonstration (1890), events took place in Merzifon, Yozgat-Kayseri (1892-1893), the First Sasun Rebellion (1895), Bab-ı Ali demonstration (1895), the Zeytun Rebellion (1895) were organized by the *Hınçak* committee, “the Van rebellion (1896), the attack to the Ottoman Bank, the Second Sasun Rebellion (1905) and the Bombing of the Yıldız Palace (1905)” were organized by *Taşnaksutyun* (Tunaya, 1995: 86).

triggered national feelings during the period. For this reason, long quotations have been presented from the work of Aharonyan. The rise of Turkish nationalist movements in the chaotic period of the First World War have changed the established policies on minorities. The reactions of the non-Muslims to the growing Turkish nationalism was to build-up their own nationalisms. This vicious circle repeated itself and the negative feelings that these communities felt to each other grew in time leading to mutual violence. Mutual pains and violence found their reflection in the literary works written by Armenians and Greeks. Aharonyan, in his short story *You Deserved the Respect*, states that the time to stop the pain that his people have suffered came at last:

From now on, it is enough. You have been paying a tribute for centuries. Your enemy is rough and very cruel. For keeping the honor rested from your forbearance, stand up and hit, hit so powerful that the bones of the deaths of the centuries can hear this. If they come on your way when they oppressed you, then you can hit... until the divine voices of reality and justice win. And at that time, my wounded people, believe that even your bloody enemy will surrender and scream as: "The wounded people, you deserve the respect!" (Aharonyan, 2001: 224).

Aharonyan exalts the Armenian struggle for independence which took place during the First World War. Keçeyan who interprets Aharonyan's short stories, referring to his work says that, "there does not exist the sadness of the obeying ones... he believes in a beautiful future" (2001: 4). Therefore, both the author and the interpreter fed up with sufferings devote the struggle for independence to a beautiful future, or other words, to the independent Republic of Armenia which would be established. ... Among the stories that narrate the struggle of Armenians against the Kurdish people, a story of an elder man, who hosts for *heduks*<sup>4</sup> is told. In the short story with the title of *The Field*, the author first narrates how the partisans collected supporters from villages. The old man who host them says to the villagers, "help us, support our action ... this action is right". According to the author, this action, "these very simple words, coming from everywhere in the country, were very meaningful and persuasive. ... [It is] a familiar language, a voice, which everybody could understand ... affecting many persons and exciting them" (Aharonyan, 2001: 129). While walking through the mountains, they came to wheat field where the elder man starts to damage the

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<sup>4</sup> The word refers to the Christian *raya* who rebels against the Ottoman Empire.

wheat on the field by stepping furiously on them. He tells to others to pass through the field to increase the damage. The field, where so much effort was spent, is crashed under footsteps of heduks. The barbarianism, which was directed against labor, makes the chief of the group angry. The elder man indifferently continues his harmful behavior. Then, the elder man stops and begins to cry (Aharonyan, 2001:131). The elder man going through a nervous break tells the words quoted below:

Crash them down, I beg you, crash them, not let them go to the dogs, to the wolves! They killed very young girls here, the dogs thirsty for the blood; they separated my brother into pieces here... Look at this wheat; it still has got their blood on itself... This river saw everything, everything... But who will let Kapoutvor know? Look at these fields, all of the grasses here are dirty, my brothers... these fields are fed up with blood, with the blood of my daughters, of my brother... Hey, Kapoutvor! How can you accept this? The wheat in blood . . . Then, you take them; I had left them for you.... (132).

These words are the screams of an elder man who lost his beloved relatives and who now seeks revenge. Even the field, which witnessed the massacre, must be destroyed since that field was fed up with the blood. The other, which means the enemy, who is called as “the dog” or “the wolf” should not take its nourishment from the field. There exist an antagonistic model of society in which there does not exist any platform of agreement. The murders were performed on the basis of ethnic identities.

The story titled *The Man Who Carries the Torch* is devoted to Zavaryan, the man who established the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. The torch on the hand of a traveler is used as a metaphor . From the words of “[t]his torch, which you put in my hand, is the witness of that I lived the life as you demanded it”, we recognize that the author ask from the traveler to assume the duty to struggle for his motherland. Throughout his travel, which means throughout the period of the duty he had undertaken, the traveler describes these hectic times in a literal way: “the justice in the paw’s of the dominant powers was smashed, and was poor and bleeding profusely” (Aharonyan, 2001: 215). The traveler talks on his own with the land where he was born and explains why he struggles for: “ ‘Listen to me the land I was born upon’, ... ‘one day, I was born as the abstracted gleam of your sad and eternal smile from your docile, productive bosom. I put your simple and

merciful soul into my fragile body and you nourished me with the milk of justice, freedom and verity flowing from your breast. (...) When I grow up, ...you wanted me to carry the burden of your numerous poor people, your forlorn persons, your poor persons, the mother” (Aharonyan, 2001: 219). By using these words, the violent struggle of Armenians was legitimized. Their land, which means their motherland, i.e. their mother was nourished them with the milk of justice and freedom and now, it became necessary to pay for cost of that milk, (which was given to them). These struggles taking place in the last years of 1800s, led the Union and Progress to formulate policies to cope with the Armenians, and the exile became the most known of these policies. According to Çerkezian, this politics is the product of the Union and Progress who supposedly dethroned the bloody Abdülhamit from his throne during the the First World War, and which came into power with the slogans of “Equality, Justice, and Liberty”. The Party completed the missing deeds of Abdülhamit who is “the registered enemy of the Christians, the monster who is never satisfied with Armenian blood”. The Party actually went further than Abdülhamit and conducted a much more planned and conscious “genocide” (2003: 23). On the other hand, Mardin states that, the greatest demand of the Young Turks, as stated earlier, was not liberty but to cease the disintegration of the Empire. They believed that the ones who want to be separated from the Empire would change their minds if liberty and justice became dominant principles of the administration (1992: 301). The civil bureaucratic movement, which later on gained a military character implemented policies to find solutions to the short-term problems rather than to tackle with deep social problems (306).

According to the Aharonyan, an author, the forced emigration began on April 24, 1915. 285 Armenian intellectuals were sent to the emigration. Among these emigrated ones there were lawyers, journalists and authors. For this reason Armenian intellectuals’ status in emigration was different from the ordinary Armenians. Varktes Efendi, who was a deputy in the Ottoman Parliament, was also sent to emigration. These people were taken from their houses and were murdered in the pathways (Çerkezian, 2003: 23-25). Tunaya mentions that the three Armenian deputies, i.e., Pastırmacıyan, the deputy of *Erzurum*, Boyacıyan, the deputy of *Kozan* and Papazyan, the deputy of *Van* were the leaders of

Armenian guerrilla forces and they were personally engaged in the fighting. For that's reason, 2345 Armenians out of the 77,735 were taken under arrest in *İstanbul* to be adjudicated by the military courts with the order of Talat Pasha<sup>5</sup> (1988: 579).

All the eastern cities of the Empire were claimed for the independent Armenia. A delegation under the leadership of Boğos Nubar Pasha propagates in Europe for the political demands of the Armenians and asked from European Powers to put Turkish Armenia under their protection. When the world war began, the congress of *Taşnaksutyun* took a decision to support the Russians (1995: 397). While Çerkezyan is in *Meskene* during exile, he meets with Aram Andonyan, an Armenian intellectual. Andonyan was able to save himself from exile by pretending to be a crazy man (2003: 39). As a result of the implemented policies, Armenians defined themselves as "the other" and put necessary conditions together for their national struggle. The exile became the most significant material nourishing Armenian nationalism. An independent Armenia which is established at the expense of too much struggle and pain remained independent only for a short while. Actually, Armenians could not find immediately a new motherland to settle down after displacement. This situation, strengthened the significance of exile to develop the Armenian nationalism and the sentiments to establish a new independent state. Later, the independent Armenia could be established for the second time only after the collapse of the Soviets.

On May 28, 1918 when the Ottoman Empire came out of the First World War as defeated, the independent Armenia was established. On November 2, 1920, while the *Gümrü* Agreement between Turkey and the Soviets was signed, at the same date, two years after its establishment Armenia, became part of the Soviet Republic (Tunaya, 1995: 397). Aharonyan literally represented Armenia as the head of Armenian delegate. According to Çerkezyan, who explains the relationships between independent Armenia, Caucasian Armenians and Anatolian Armenians, most of the people who served in *Taşnak* government

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<sup>5</sup> For the adjudication and murder of Talat Pasha, see the chapter 4. The other leader of the Union and Progress, Enver Pasha was killed in Karabağ in a similar way of Talat Pasha. See, Pamukciyan, *How Enver Pasha Died?*

were Caucasian Armenians. On the other hand, Anatolian Armenians were the determinant determinative component in the establishment of independent Armenia: “Thanks to the labor and the struggles of the peoples of *Van*, of *Sason*, of *Şebinkarahisar*, Armenia was established. The ones who established the Armenia were the people who were grown up in these regions, the Murat of *Sivas*, Heços, Antraniks... The Caucasian Armenians did not have any contribution at all.”(Çerkezzyan, 2003: 170) However, after the establishment of Armenia, Caucasian Armenians pretend that they were the ones who established their nation. When the country was annexed to Soviet Union by the Red Army, *Taşnak* people rebelled but their revolt was unsuccessful. The Marxist *Hınçaks* took the control of the administration in Armenia.

To understand the Armenian identity the social, political, and economic framework of their stance within the Ottoman regime needs to be examined first. The *millet* system works quite efficiently in the Ottoman Empire in the time of social prosperity. The millet system constitutes the Ottoman society on the basis of two main classes, the Muslim class and the Non-Muslim class. In the days of the Ottoman, the religion determined the social status and it was only the only denominator for the conception of *millet*. Therefore, the society was separated into various *millet*s on the basis of their religious beliefs. *Millet* had to be conceived as a community devoted to a certain religion or a certain religious sect<sup>6</sup>. *Millet* is a system based on socio-cultural framework. According to Karpas, two basic distinctive characteristics of the millet system are the religion and the ethnic identity (1982: 142). *Millet* system brings religious, cultural and ethnic continuity among communities to some extent. They have been permitted to join Ottoman administrative, economic and political system to some degree. *Millet-i Hakime* (the dominant *millet*) in the Ottoman society is the Muslims, others were called as *millet-i mahkume*, (the dominated *millet*) which, means the communities under the domination. In whatever part of the Empire land, non-Muslims were supposed to be dependent on *İstanbul*, which was the center of the administration. The *Millet* system is the manner of administration of

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<sup>6</sup> The word of millet means according to the dictionary prepared by Develioğlu, “all the ones who are attached with a religion or with a religious sect”, the meaning of ummet is “the community of those who believe in a religion founded by a prophet” (1992:1356).

communities living on the Ottoman Land according to their religions and sectarian differences. As was mentioned in the second chapter, non-Muslim people who accepted to live permanently under the administration of a Muslim government were *The Protected People (Dhimni, Zimni)*. Later on, *Ehl-i zimmet*, (the Masters of Protected People), or the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire, were called the *raya*. The government had the responsibility of protecting the lives and properties of non-Muslim subjects. While the Muslims were recruited for the obligatory military service, the *dhimni* people were not recruited but they could work on public services or they could have occupations of the higher rank. To pay the security tax called *cizye* was their responsibility. (Eryılmaz, 1992: 13-16). Non-Muslims, who were completely independent in their religious practices, and who were partly dependent administrative wise, carried out their activities in the field of art and the trade without any significant obstacle. The *maktu*, the taxes collected on a yearly basis, paid by the *dhimni* people, enabled them to organize their community lives. This method was chosen in order to prevent the difficulties and misuses of authority in tax collection. The taxes were not collected on an individual basis. Local religious organizations of the communities collected and transferred the taxes to the state officials (Ercan, 2001: 272 – 273). The ethnic communities, except for some Pontus Greeks, had lived without losing their religious, linguistic and cultural identities and they were not assimilated. Therefore, they were able to continuously reproduce their identities.

In the late nineteenth century the process of the nation–state formation among the Ottoman millet had some peculiar characteristics. Actually the nation–state formation process is based on the territorial bonds of secular citizenship, and on the historical memories together with one’s ethnic identity. These newly established states in 19th century, based on communal and religious nationalism, which have “the group identity, internal cohesion and socio-political values as a nation were determined by their long experience in the millet system” (Karpát, 1982:141). Therefore Karpát believes that these nations owe the essence of their ethnic national identity to “religious – communal experience in the millet, while citizenship – a secular concept – was determined by territory” (141).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> As it is mentioned in the second chapter, the nation according to Smith, (2000:3) is “a named human population occupying a historic territory or homeland and sharing common myths and memories; a mass,

As is explained in the second and the fourth chapter, *millet* system was distorted with the declaration of *Tanzimat* which recognized the equality of subjects. *Tanzimat* Era brought a centralist administration system and accepted European States as a guarantor for non-Muslim subjects<sup>8</sup>. Together with the Constitutional Law (*Kanun-u Esasi*), which began to be implemented on 1876, all the subjects living within territories of the empire was accepted as an Ottoman citizen (Eryilmaz, 1992: 90). Together with the new citizenship conception, a new relationship between the state and the millets was established on the basis of the principle of equality. The Turks who became the dominant component of the Ottoman society for many years had supported the idea of equality less compared to non-Muslim peoples. They were reluctant to recognize the privileges of non-Muslim people (Davison, 1999: 251). Because of the problems experienced in the implementation of the new administrative and legal system, the minorities were influenced by the nationalist movements. Non-Muslims living within the borders of a state that loses its power began to search for new guarantors. Or some sought to become independent. In this period, during which a new model for Ottoman State was formed, each major ethnic group consolidated its own ethnic identity under the leadership of their national leaders. Later on, this situation encouraged a serious wave of the ethnic nationalism based on religion in the Balkan Peninsula and the Caucasus.

Aharonyan in his short story titled *Khai*<sup>9</sup>, narrates a discourse on liberty. The story is devoted to the memory of Hahapet Yeshiazaran, whose nickname was Nakho. He was one of the national heroes of the Armenian people (Aharonyan (2001: 41) Aharonyan states that he was tortured and killed in Mahlam on October 26 1898). Nakho struggles on the mountains against the Ottomans with a group of people. He sleeps “on stone beds” and “drinks water with snakes”, and eats bread as hard as a stone. For him, instead of bearing the dishonorable

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public culture; a single economy; and common rights and duties for all members”. Due to this, the word “nation” in English language does not properly reflect the meaning of the word “millet” as used here.

<sup>8</sup> For detailed information, see chapter 4.

<sup>9</sup> The vocally changed form of the word of “hay”, which means “the Armenian” (Aharonyan, 2001: 37).

situation they had been living through, it is more honorable to struggle in the mountains and to suffer from as such. Yet, his enemies had already exceeded “the borders of the hypocrisy and of the heartlessness”. The only possibility to continue their lives is to struggle against them. “To cleanse our stained honor we had left our homes, our household and we stepped into the mountains with weapons in our hands. So, we were free at last. Ah! any man suffered the evil like us, was the honor of the father, of the mother or of the wife masticated, was a child killed, was an old father insulted? At that time, we did not see the world anymore, we would take the gun in our hands” (Aharonyan, 2001: 41-42). In this short story, the state is depicted as having lost its authority and unable to provide justice among its subjects. The lack of authority opened the way for ethnic groups to establish their own organization to struggle for their own freedom.

The initial intentions of the movement of the Union and Progress in 1908 was to establish a modern state based on citizenship. The *millet* system of the Ottoman society, as mentioned above, was in full contrast with this conception. The relationship between the community and the state was at stake in the *millet* system rather the relationship between the state and the individual. The idea of citizenship requires the establishment of a latter kind of relationship. In order to have *The Union of the Civilization (İttihad-ı Anasır)*, the ideology of Ottomanism was brought forth which was a umbrella political identity including all ethnic components of the empire. According to Akçam, there was a need for a cultural identity, which would be created from the basis of Turkish identity for the politics of centralization and homogenization. On the other hand, assimilation policy was implemented in order to create this cultural identity. The assimilationist program implemented with violence is “an effort of Turkicization which began to be implemented without tearing off its ties with Islam” (1995: 20). Policies of assimilation were systematically developed and the following decision were taken respectively: On August 16, 1908 the Law of the Associations was issued and the establishment of political associations and unions using the names of any nations was forbidden. With a decision taken in the realm of education, one could become a public officer only if he was a graduate of Turkish medium state (official) schools. Nevertheless, due to the failure of these policies,

the government issued another decision, *Written Statement to the Nation* on July 27, 1910. Accordingly racial communities were allowed to behave as they wished. It was resolved that it was not any longer possible for different *millets* to live together. The collapsing idea of Ottomanism had left its place to Turkism, a concept that deeply imbued. (1995: 21-22).

In the early years of 1880s, the Young Turks initiated the movement of Turkism. Turkism which was first associated with the language problem turned out to be a cultural movement in 1893 when *İkdam* newspaper was published with the title phrase "A Turkish Newspaper" (Mardin, 1992: 62). Analyzing Mizancı Murat, Mardin states that he tried to consolidate the Turkishness in Turkey while protecting the national culture. He encouraged Turks to search their identities in themselves and stressed cultural Turkism (115).

The movement of Turkism gains strength when the Ottoman state enters into a war with Russia. Basically, before all else, the Turks living in the Ottoman state would have a national consciousness and later on they would unite with the Turks living outside the country and the ideal of *Turan*, which means the great country, would be attained (Tunaya, 1988: 11). On the other hand, the 1917 revolution with its idea that every nation has the right to determine its own fortune gave pace to spread of the idea of Turkism. Bayur quotes the journal of the *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Hometown) published on April 1, 1915 to prove that the movement of Turkism was quite dispersed: "The concept that was wanted to express (...) by using the Turkism, ... is not definite. While some Turkists ... tried to determine their basic ideas ... by coming together and consulting their ideas from time to time, ... some others were giving conferences about the national trends on meaningless words" (1967: 385). According to Ağaoğlu Ahmed, there was a Turkish nationality but the Turkish nation was not constituted yet. That was because "although the civilization necessary for the nationality exists among the Turks, this civilization could not yet gained a form needed to constitute the nation." (Bayur; 1967: 385). Believing that, it is wrong to search the nationality in race, or in language or in religion, Ağaoğlu argues that a nation can be constituted with three components: "To bring out a nation from the nationality and civilization, the formation of the civilization must be consciously combined in

harmony. As long as it does not live in the language, in the religion, in the traditions of the race, in the consciousness of the nation, the nation can not be formed” (Bayur, 386).

Gökalp develops a quite conservative line of Turkism by synthesizing the civilization, to which it refers by the term of the new life, and the Turkish culture, which he refers as the national soul, together with Islam (Bora, 1997: 16). In his article titled “What is Turkism?” published in *Yeni Mecmua* (the New Journal) published on December 27, 1917 he mentions that the Turkish nation is valuable and could realize all kinds of great deeds. Only it is enough for Turkish people that, “it takes its self-consciousness into its hands, stay attached to its own customs, own culture and own religion, as well as getting rid of the parts of the religion mixed with superstition ... and become secular in law and in administration” (Bayur, 1967: 389). In *Genç Kalemler* (Young Pens) Journal (in the eighth issue of the first year), he writes an article titled “The New Life”. Emphasizing the *ümmet* consciousness, he imagines how the new life would be organized. These are the “economical, familial, aesthetic, philosophical, moral, legal, political values that would be born from the soul of” being an Ottoman (Bayur, 1967: 392). Evaluating the life styles of minorities, the Turkist Gökalp declares, in this article, that non-Muslims have internalized the European way of life. Nevertheless Muslims do not have such tendencies as they constitute a separate group devoted to the religion of Islam. It is important to establish a new civilization from our own culture. The new life assumes an economic, legal, moral, and political model of society, which was born from the Ottoman soul. Non-Muslim people would also exist in this society since the model of the society that would be realized is a modern one (392). Nevertheless, in his model of the society, Gökalp violates the principle of equality recognized by the *Tanzimat*, and he declares the superiority of being Turkish. “The real civilization is only the Turkish civilization, which would begin with the rising of the new life (...) The Turk would become just like the steel and it will be rejuvenated also” (393). With reference to Nietzsche, Gökalp states that, “the superior man” he imagined was “the Turks”. Turks are the men of all centuries. This is why, the new life would be born from the Turkishness, which is the mother of all youngsters” (393). From then on, the politics that would be implemented by the Union and Progress had

become much clearer. The newly established state would be established on the basis of both Islam and Turkism (Akçam, 1995: 24).

Gökalp, in his second article, following the same title of “What is Turkism?” published in *Yeni Mecmua* on January 10, 1918 (27<sup>th</sup> issue), explains what he means by “the term new life”. What the new life refers is the national life: “we consider that the new life we are searching for, exist in the conscience of the nation in an unconscious manner. We give the name “Turkism” to turn this unconscious conscience into a state of consciousness” (394). On the other hand, Halide Edip also explains how she conceives of the term Turkism in the *Vakit* (The Time) newspaper dated August 23. She mentions of three intersecting circles. The small circle covers the domains of the Ottoman and of Turkey, other Turks such as the Turks of Russia with whom the Anatolian Turks have the unity of language and religion cover the domain outside of this circle, and the Fins and the Hungarians who have separate languages and religions cover the last circle (Bayur 408).

In order to establish a national state, it was necessary to establish a national economy alongside the establishment of a national ideal. According to Akçam (1995: 24), the politics of national economics, which places the “Muslim-Turkish notables of a town or village” at its center, envisaged ethnic identicalness” (24). According to Kuşçubaşı (quoted from Akcam, 1995: 25), for the purification of “the non-Turkish components” and “the non-Turkish concentrated masses clustered around the strategic points and susceptible to the foreign negative effects”, “the self-sacrificing and patriotic elements” of the party working in Anatolia were invited to *İstanbul* (25). These meetings were kept under extreme secrecy in reorganized the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa* with the leadership of Talat Pasha: It is only with the foundation of the Republic that these goals would be realized. When minorities left the stage, the state authority helped Muslim bourgeoisie to establish a national foreign trade regime between 1923 and 1929. The ones who constituted the comprador class were not the non-Muslims who carry a foreign passport, Muslims who emerged during the period of the Union and Progress (Keyder, 1979 – 1980: 239).

The politics of Turkicization implemented for homogenization provisioned the decisions which would re-constitute the collective memory. Compulsory education in Turkish, and banning languages other than Turkish to be spoken in the public area were among these decisions (Yıldız, 2001:82). Assimilation of minorities or their relocation were among other policies followed against minorities. Cemal Pasha defends these policies are being implemented for the sake of the Ottomanism. In his memoir he claims that they followed the policies of the Ottoman empire. It was possible to follow the politics of Turkism if they had adapted decentralization policies but they implemented “the politics of the Ottoman community”. Enver Pasha defines himself first as an Ottoman and only then, as the Turk. He calls ethnic groups separated from the Ottoman Empire as villains. Mentioning that their only support is “the voice of the Turkishness rising from the Anatolia, from the divine land of the Turk” and expresses that only the Turks paid an effort “to maintain the Ottoman community by their heart”. For that reason, the greatest duty of the Ottoman community is to “raise the Turkishness, to make the Turk live, to make the Turk multiplied” (1996:350 –351). These words of Enver Pasha should not be surprising. In the same period, the Armenians were struggling for the independent Armenia, Anatolian Greeks were running after their great ideal, and Arabs were cooperating with the Englishmen. If these facts are taken into consideration, there exist no ideology, other than Turkism, to which the Ottoman administration could hold on to, as opposed to the nationalist movements which continuously increased their threat.

Saying that his grandmother was a member of *Taşnak* Party, Çerkezyan expresses that the party was a legal organization during the Constitutional Monarchy. When he tells his family that he decided to become a communist, his family does not show any reaction. His mother and her family’s political identities were shaped by the *Taşnak* Party. However, his father and his father’s family have lived in Anatolia for years and they have trusted in their wealth and the friendship of the Turkish people, they were never engaged in the Armenian political movement. They were not expecting to be forced to emigrate and they were emotionally hurt (2003:199). Çerkezyan’s account of his family’s political creed substantiates the points made above. Most of the Armenians lived peacefully and inoffensively in Anatolia and they did not have any relationships

with the Armenian independence movement and nationalism. They perceive themselves as one of the millets living on the lands of the Ottoman Empire. The ones who were engaged in political movements were the ones who had already been working in these organizations since late 1880s. They searched for the political support in Europe and they fought with Russians against the Ottoman people. On the other hand, Çerkezyan chooses to become a communist instead of becoming a *Taşnak* supporting Armenian nationalism: “An off-spring, a human being like me who suffered from so much pain, subjected to the injustices in this country would either become a nationalist like Levon Ekmekciyan<sup>10</sup>, an enemy of the Turkish people coming from Lebanon and organize suicide or else would become a communist. That is why we imagined becoming a communist” (199-200). His reason to become a communist is the fact that it is the not the *Taşnak* government but the communists who saved Armenians from a ultimate destruction (201).

In 1920s, during the national struggle, Kazım Karabekir was in *Gümrü* leading his army. The *Taşnak* government was overthrown; the Red Army took the control and Armenia was forced to join to the Soviet Russia. An agreement was signed between Ankara government and Soviets. The Red Army asks Kazım Karabekir to leave *Gümrü* in fifteen days. When Karabekir withdraws with his army, “the Red Army and the communists who came to *Gümrü*” pulls out “the death Armenian bodies from the wells for many months”. Çerkezyan states that the Turks had a plan about “annihilating the Armenian race”, but the intervention of the communists prevented this plan (2003: 201). He chose to be a communist because of this and he became a member of the executive committee of Workers Party in *Eminönü* district organization for three years in 1960’s (204). The communist government in Soviet Union, according to Çerkezyan gives Armenian people the opportunity to develop their “abilities without fearing the enemies”. Çerkezyan is proud that four marshals from Armenia served in the Red Army, thought is in one of the smallest republics in Soviet Republic: “As an Armenian, all of these are the source of a great pride and joy... That is because you can not become even a street sweeper as an Armenian in Turkey”. The antagonism

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<sup>10</sup> Ekmekciyan participated in the actions of bombing in *İstanbul* during 1980s. This issue would be analyzed in the coming pages of the analysis chapter.

between Turkey and Armenia was the result of the “the talent of the leaders”. The idea that the communism would be beneficial for Turkey led him to join the TCP (Turkish Communist Party) (2003: 202-203).

Even though Çerkezyan mentions that the Turkish people is not the enemy, he never talks about the massacres committed against the Turkish people by Armenian armed gangs. He also remains silent about Turks who were perceived as obstacles to the Armenian independence. Not only Çerkezyan, but Aharonyan too, consider Armenian war of independence as legitimate. For both of them the Turks who were killed in the struggle for independence are the enemies, the others. Çerkezyan conceives communism as the only political domain to which he could belong.<sup>11</sup> In his opinion, there were not any other choices; he would become either an Armenian nationalist or an internationalist. According to him, the Turkish leftist movement however is also nationalist. In 1960's Zihni Anadol and Mihri Belli publish a journal called as *Türk Solu* (The Turkish Left). When Zihni asks him to write articles for the journal, Çerkezyan criticizes them for the name of journal. “When Migros [supermarket] had come to this country, you called it as ‘the Turkish Migros’, when Pirelli had come, it became ‘the Turkish Pirelli’. Something had come and became ‘Turkish ...’. All these piles, which were placed in the bottoms of these peoples, were placed after being wrapped up in such a gelatin. Now, you call it “Turkish Left”. It has different connotations, if your problem belongs only to you, what are we going to do among you? We are internationalist persons. Then, I am going to go to find an Armenian left and work there” (207). He got quite angry when the only domain, which provides attachment for him, is appropriated by Turkish nationalists (224).

Dirtad Şirinyan who is one of the characters in his novel is a *Taşnak* militant who illegally resided in Turkey in 1946 is presented as a witness of the Armenian history. He struggles against Turks first in the fronts of the Bulgarian Army. Later

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<sup>11</sup> During the single party regime, first it was ceased to accept non-Muslims as civil servants and then the condition of “being a Turk” to become a civil servant was put with the 4<sup>th</sup> article of the legal law dated as 18<sup>th</sup> of March 1926 with the number of 788. In other words, the way to become a civil servant for the non-Muslim minorities was closed. This application continued until the year of 1965. The 48<sup>th</sup> article of the legal law with the number 657 brings the condition of “being a Turkish citizen” for the ones who want to become a civil servant. According to the legal law titled as “The Law about the arts and services allocated for the Turkish citizens in Turkey” accepted in the TGNA at the date of June 4, 1932 with the number of 2007, the occupations closed to the non-Muslims were listed.

on, he joined to Russian units fighting against Turks in *Sarıkaşı*. Şirinyan who makes the following remarks “I live in Turkey without a name. The Turkish government does not know that I am living here. I have nothing to do with the police station, with the police and with the Ministry of Finance” He dies in *İstanbul* in 1957 (Çerkezian, 2003: 158). Although Şirinyan does not accept Turkish citizenship, he does not leave the Anatolian land. He lives in Turkey out of sheer obstinacy both as an Armenian and as a *Taşnak* militant.

Çerkezian narrates his first meeting with Nevzat, his friend who saved his shop from being looted during the events of September 6-7. Nevzat, who works as a checker, comes to Sarkiz, who works in the construction of Sümerbank. Nevzat asks what kind of language Armenian was, and whether the Armenian language was spoken by 200 words like the Gypsy language. Çerkezian, being sensitive about this matter, replies:

When a man claims about serious issues, he has to know something about the matter, or he becomes like you. The Armenian language is not a language like the Gypsy language; it is a language, which belongs to the fifth step of the Indo-European language family... We have our own alphabet, which we have been using for 1800 years... But, let me ask you, you were using the Arabic language until yesterday, and today you use the Latin language, why do not you have your own alphabet? A man should think a bit before he speaks (2003: 133-134).

The Armenian language is an independent language with 38 letters; it belongs to the Indo-European family language. The priest Mesrob Maşdots formed the alphabet with 36 letters by benefiting from many other alphabets in A.C. 412 and later on, during the period of the Kilikya State, the letters of “O” and of “F” were added to the alphabet. The order and names of the letters were adapted to the Greek alphabet (Tuğlacı, 1992:19-21). According to Antoine Meillet, since the Armenian alphabet is well organized, it reached until today without much change. The translation of the Bible into the Armenian language during the 5<sup>th</sup> century became determinant in the systematization of the Armenian alphabet and the Armenian language was not subjected to a revision after that date (47). Because of this, the Armenian language remained almost unchanged and is considered as one of the fundamental building stones of Armenian nationalism.<sup>12</sup> The language

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<sup>12</sup> Another German philosopher, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) put much emphasis on language. He gives inspiration to Karl Deutch whose thoughts are further elaborated in the second chapter For him, language is “the means through which a man becomes conscious of his personality”. For Herder “language is

and religion are the greatest two elements that keep Armenian identity intact and alive. As it is discussed in the second chapter, the language is “the means through which a man becomes conscious of his personality” (Kedourie, 1961: 62). Language as the modernist scholars such as Gellner (1983), Hobsbawn (1990), and Anderson (1991) argued is one of the leading factors which induced Armenian nationalism. The Armenians managed to form a standardized language, which can be considered as one the most important preconditions of forming an ethnic identity.

### 6.1.1. The Analogies

In this chapter, it will be argued that the analogies such as the *giaour*, the enemy, the snake has an impact on Armenian's positioning or definition of their ethnic identities. The differentiation, which separates we (non-Muslims) and they (Muslims), or vice versa, becomes much more clarified when these similes are considered. A few of these similes have positive connotations. Muslim people, which means the Turks and the Kurds, use words like *giaour*, enemy, and snake for non-Muslims. By using these words, it is emphasized that non-Muslims are different from the Muslims and hence, in each usage of these words non-Muslims are continuously constructed as the “other” in the minds of Muslims.

#### 6.1.1.1. *Giaour*

According to the dictionary of the Turkish Language Association published in 1945, the word of “*giaour*” means Christian in as spoken word.<sup>13</sup> As discussed in

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a product of the rational faculty ... it is a amalgam in which things and happenings are combined with the emotions which they arouse in man” (Kedourie, 1961: 62). Two conclusions may be drawn from here. People can speak their own original language who is nations and nations can speak their original language (67). Each community has its own style of thought and language reflects their mode of thought.

<sup>13</sup> According to Püsküllüoğlu (2003), the word *gavur* (*giaour*) is an Ottoman word that has the following meanings in today's Turkish: (1) someone who is not Muslim, especially if he/she is a Christian or a European or a Western; (2) someone who has no religious belief; (3) someone who has no mercy or is merciless; (4) someone who is very stubborn. According to the Turkish Language Association Dictionary, TDK, (1988), *giaour* is an Ottoman word with an Arabic origin. The Ottoman dictionary has no information about its origin. According to the two American-English dictionaries, the word refers to the meaning of “an unbeliever, a non-Muslim, esp. a Christian” (Webster's Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language, 2001) and someone who is a nonbeliever; an infidel (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 1992). According to Oxford Universal Dictionary Illustrated, 1967, *giaour* is a term of reproach applied by “Turks to non-Mussulmans, esp. Christians”.

the fourth chapter, the principle of equality, which was accepted by the Gülhane Hattı (1839), respected the rights of tolerance and autonomy of the communities, which were already given to the Ottoman non-Muslim subjects before the Hatt. Nevertheless, this tolerance that used to be shown to non-Muslims before the Tanzimat, was based on the principle that these communities had a different and subordinate status compared to that of the Muslims. Yet, the Hatt-ı Şerif necessitated was necessitating the abandonment of the principle of “the superiority of Muslims to the unbelievers”. The abandonment of this social practice separating the unbeliever and the Muslim from each other, which means accepting the equality of these two, was perceived as “insulting both the religion and the common sense” (Lewis, 1988: 108).<sup>14</sup> In fact, according to Davison, there exists a general discontent of subjects about the modernization projects in the Ottoman Empire in the period of *Tanzimat*. “There was always opposition from the people as a whole, who were steadfastly opposed to innovation. There was further opposition from vested interests. Any modernizing statesman was called the *gavur pasha* the “unbeliever of a pasha”(1990: 92-93). Christians are accepted as the second-class citizens in the light of religious revelation, since “whole Muslim outlook was often summed up in the common term *giaour* (*gavur* or *kafir*), which meant “unbeliever” or “infidel”, with emotional and quite uncomplimentary overtones. To associate closely or on terms of equality with the *gavur* was dubious at best” (120-121).

In the literary works, the non-Muslims were generally called as the *giaour* by the Turks. In his work of *Giaour Elo*, Fundermann narrates the story of an Armenian who lives in a Kurdish village in Eastern Anatolia. He expresses that the villagers call the Russians and the Armenians as *Fille*, the Kurdish word which has the meanings of *gavur* (*giaour*, *infidel to Islam*, *pagan*). Actually, the word of *Fille* is used for cursing others. Elo, the character of the work, feels the same deep pang of sadness in his heart every time the word *Fille* is used (1999: 25). Sometimes,

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<sup>14</sup> Abdurrahman Şerif states that because of their fanaticism, the Muslim people reacted against the principle of the equality in citizenship. This reaction did not have the quality to “stop the progress in the country and in the realm of civilization. However, different component’s getting used to living together continuously caused to the delaying of a significant problem such that “the unity of the civilizations” (*ittihad-ı anasır*), the expression used after the Constitutional Monarchy”. Later on, he narrates the anecdote including the expression of “Now, there exists *Tanzimat*, the *giaour* would not be called as the *giaour*”, which we mentioned in the fourth chapter (1980: 62-63).

the villagers who get angry with Elo's sons call them as the "sons of Elo the *Fille*". Moreover, his other brothers in law, who are Neo's (Elo's step father) children, also call him with the same word when they want to tease him. Nevertheless, defining himself as a good Muslim man, Elo has brought up his children as good Muslim persons. He sent his children "to the Quran courses, taught them how to perform the namaz (the ritual of worship centered in prayer) when they were little babies" (26). Elo represents an Armenian who remained in the Anatolia and became the defeated party of the war. He is the oppressed, the *giaour*, the other. He is the heritage left by the Ottoman Empire which had a structure of the multi-ethnicity to the Turkish Republic which has a structure based on single ethnicity. His physical appearance, which is different from the Kurdish people and ethnic roots, makes Elo the other. Although he had become a Muslim man and was accepted by the village community, he is subjected to racist and even xenophobic behaviors<sup>15</sup>.

On the other hand, Aharonyan does not use the word of "giaour" in his work, as it is filled with heroism and bravery of the superior Armenian race. The Kurdish and the Turkish people call the Armenians as *fedda* (the Persian word which is used to describe the ones who sacrifice themselves). In the Armenian's perception, *the sacrificers* are "the revengeful demons" since they bring death to the ones who tortured them. The author lists the superior qualifications of Armenian people: "only eagles and we were the dominators of the mountains. How much many ways we have passed through to prevent the evil deeds organized by Turkish and Kurdish bandits. (...) They were continuously searching for us. Yet, we were like the invisible demons" (Aharonyan, 2001: 41-42). Aharonyan narrates the heroic stories of war because he wants to support national awakening by sublimating the Armenian ethnic identity. According to Horch, the stories of that type are necessary for the sublimation of the ethnic consciousness. It is a quite frequently observed situation that a group of intellectuals use the habits, the history, the

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<sup>15</sup> Such behaviors in today's multi-cultural societies are evaluated as anti-democratic. Closson in his article broadcast on the Internet, explains that in a multi-cultural society, the basic cultural tendencies, such as the dress code, nourishment, religious beliefs of different ethnic and racial groups are tolerated. Furthermore, according to the institution of National Association for Multicultural Education, "Xenophobia, discrimination, racism, classism, sexism, and homophobia are societal phenomena that are inconsistent with the principles of a democracy and lead to the counterproductive reasoning that differences are deficiencies"  
<http://www.probe.org/docs/multicul.html>

culture and the language, which separate one ethnic identity from the others, for the purpose of provoking the national awakening of the suppressed ethnic identity. Following this propaganda, the foundation of ethnicity and nationalism would be established. Still, the ethnic consciousness does not immediately rise but it has to be matured in the second stage. The main actors in the second stage are not only intellectuals but also elites as the concern has shifted from cultural issues to political, economic and social interest. Because of growing articulation of national claims and communication, the sentiments of ethnic group transforms into national unity. Then in the last stage, nationalism turns into a mass movement (Krüger, 1993: 15-16).

Mıgırđıç Margosyan's<sup>16</sup> book of short stories titled as *Tell Me Margos, Where Are You From?*, presents certain frames from the cosmopolitan life in *Diyarbakır*. In the story titled as *The Hussy*, he explains how the fraternal lives of the peoples of *Diyarbakır* intersect with each other. Calling the ones who do not share the fraternity of the same religion as the "giaour" or "haço" is a reflection of the emerging anger. These terms of insult "should never be confused with other terms of insult which begins with the words 'your mother and your wife', 'all your ancestors and your future generations'. The former one only comes from an oral habit and sometimes it even gains the characteristics of eulogy" (2000: 53). The utterance "[t]he giaour son of the giaour, take the money I gave to you with my blessing and let him enjoy it like the milk of his mother" is an example of this (53). To give another example the word of giaour has also some positive connotations in Çerkezyan's work. Following the exile process, Çerkezyan's family, who settled in *Ereğli* in the early years of the Republic, meets with Mustafa Agha, who is among the rich men of the region. They ask Mustafa Agha what he thinks about the forced exile of the Armenians who live in *Ereğli* on 1915. Mustafa Agha replies this question by using the metaphor of cooking a rice. If you cook a rice, if you add the butter in it instead of the water, but if you did not add the salt, would it be a delicious rice? (...) Now, look here, "if the Turk is the *bulgur*, and if the Armenian is the salt and if you add it into the rice, again that rice could not be eaten

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<sup>16</sup> Mıgırđıç Margosyan (August, 2000, 6<sup>th</sup> ed.) *Tell Me Margos, Where Are You From?* The lives and local stories are narrated in the short stories. Margosyan won the Eliz Kavukçuyan Award with his *The Giaour Neighborhood*. This book of short stories narrates the life style in the Giaour neighborhood by using a witty language similar to the one used for fairy tales. It describes peoples who live in peace.

because it lacks the salt. (...) Besides, they are both the salt and the taste of this country. What would I do in a country without the giaour people” (Çerkezyan, 2003: 71). Margosyan describes the multi-ethnic, colorful life in *Diyarbakır* as follows:

The Kurdish translation of the Turkish word 'giaour' was the Fille. Nevertheless, it was registered as the word 'haço' not only in the Turkish language but also in the Kurdish language. In the Turkish language, they would say 'the fearful Jew' but they don't say 'the fearful followers of Moses'. 'Cehü' was the title of the Jews in Turkish. We Christians, on the other hand, would call Jews as 'Moşe'. Although all Christians were the giaours or 'Fille's (giaours in Kurdish), they use the names of the Armenian, the Syrian Orthodox, the Keldani, the Pirots among each other. Besides, the Armenians were calling the Syrian Orthodox people as 'the Asori people'. While the Muslims called all Christians as the giaour, the Christians would refer to them as "the Dacik people". Nevertheless, outside of all of these, the actual truth was that, the crazy people were on one side and the rest of all, which means the Daciks, the Giaours, the Haços, the Redheaded ones, the Yezidis, the Armenians, the Turks, the Kurds, the Keldanis, the Cyrian Orthodoxes, the Asoris, the Pirots, the Filles, the Moşes, the Cehüs, the Druses were all together on the other side! There exist the Anatolian Greeks, which do not take its place on either side, but, in Diyarbakır, you could not find any of them. May be there are some left in every nook and cranny, but you would be excited for nothing when you searched for them because they are beneficial for making pickles! (Margosyan, 2000: 54).

In *Diyarbakır*, although different ethnic groups live a common life, the marriage between the different religions is not much welcomed. In other words, Christians and the *Daciks* (the Muslims) do not intermarry (Margosyan, 2000:59).

Nevertheless, some day, a girl elopes to a Kurdish man and the name of the girl, which was Namo in the past, turns into the Hussy. The father of the girl who felt that his honor was offended cannot stand the disgrace and he dies. A folk song is composed in the name of this girl.<sup>17</sup> In spite of all these events, people succeeded to live together in *Diyarbakır*. The author interprets the 4<sup>th</sup> article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in one of his articles. The human beings are equal in terms of their rights and liberties and they should behave in accordance with the mentality of being brothers and sisters with each other (Margosyan, 1996: 121). The suspension of democracy during the period of single party regime prevented

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<sup>17</sup> The water flooded Hançepek,  
The peach blossomed,  
The daughter of Kıbrağ Yakup  
Eloped in the midnight (Margosyan, 2000: 62).

this mentality from being put into practice, however, it is still not impossible to live together. The only way of realizing this is to possess a democratic platform (126).

In his work of *Alone People*, Biberyan provides a cross section of society from the years of 1950s.<sup>18</sup> The 1950s is the period when the nationalist discourse and the antagonism towards the minorities got severe. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Cyprus problem gave way to the development of an anti-minority movement including all of non-Muslims. The minorities were defined as the strangers. According to the Turkist movement of that period, “the Turkish person is a person who descend from the Turkish ancestors”, the remaining ones should be isolated from the society and be administrated by oppression (Bora, 2000: 82-83). Krikor, one of the characters of *Alone People*, meets with a butcher while he walks on the street. Ali, the butcher, first says to him “good evening, müsü” loudly and then he adds the words of “the giaour son of the giaour” in a manner that cannot be heard. Turning to his visitor who came from his village, he says, “[i]n the war, ten pieces of them were for ten coins, in Yozgat. At that time, who would spit on the müsü’s face? All these giaours were all under their fouts, at that time. ... Now, out of necessity, we call them müsü. The money, the money is all in their hands”. His visitor, on the other hand, understands neither the situation nor his relative’s words:

“The government knows better than us. One cannot understand the works of the government, and of the state. (...) Nevertheless, still there was a point that he could not grasp. Considering that the giaours - the Russians, the Greeks, the Englishmen - were driven away from the country in the War of Independence, who are these people? Why were they still here? Why didn't they get rid of? (2000: 78).<sup>19</sup>

Yet, the situation is just the opposite. Most of the giaours have been driven away from the country and the ethnic diversity had disappeared to a great extent.

Currently, 55.000 Armenians, about 1500-2000 Anatolian Greeks and 25.000 Jewish people live in Turkey (Oran, 2001: 143). “The land got barren since the

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<sup>18</sup> Zaven Biberyan, in his work titled *Alone People (Sürtük 1959)*, (published in Turkish on 1966, 2000) narrates stories of Armenians and Turks. While they live in the same streets, they are isolated from each other. The work describes the degraded minorities and their loneliness in late 1950s.

<sup>19</sup> In his study broadcast on the Internet; Svazlian tells the stories of Armenians witnessed the exile. According to Aşken Poğikyan, who was born on 1908, the anti-Armenian politics of the Young Turks were partly accepted by the people who used pejorative expressions for themselves such as “The wrong-headed giaour”, “the ungrateful giaour”, “the goodness and kindness are not beneficial for the giaour ones”, “to what extent you cut off the giaour, they grow that much or the fur can not be obtained from the leather of the dog and the friendship of a Turkish man could not be obtained by the Armenians”.

Muslims who were employed instead of the expelled minorities did not know how to do the jobs” (Yelda, 2000: 187).

### 6.1.1.2 The Deprivation

In the short story titled *Malez*, Margosyan narrates his life story. He was born in *Diyarbakır*. Her mother is called *Hino* and his father *Siko*. The name of their neighborhood is Hançepek: “we were the Armenians, since the Armenians were titled as the giaours around this region, our neighborhood also titled as the Giaour Neighborhood, yet, I should put them aside now and drink my milk as a well-behaving child and grow up and become a healthy children as soon as possible” (2002: 76). The utterances expressing deprivation, he questions why he could not drink the milks of babies born in cities. He thinks about the causes of being impoverished by birth: “Who and by which right, were they preventing this? Did not the equality, the concept named as “*égalité*” pass through this region? Do I have to collect my belongings and migrate to France, to Japan; do I have to go to those lands?” (78).

In his short story *The Hussy*, Margosyan speaks of Jewish, Syrian Orthodox and Armenian neighborhoods settled in *Diyarbakır*<sup>20</sup>. In these neighborhoods, not only communities but occupations are also separated. The Armenians generally engage in blacksmithery and the production of the hand-made scarves (1995: 58). The Turks on the other hand, become the civil servants. The Turks could gain more occupations when compared to the minorities. They could become pharmacists, doctors, judges, public prosecutors, teachers, policemen, sub-governors and the like. The Kurdish people living in the nearby villages, except for the rich landlords, mostly engage in daily works (58). As mentioned, certain occupational domains are only open to Turks. This category covers foreigners but arbitrarily expanded in the daily applications and the non-Muslims fall in by this category as well. This decision was accepted on June 4, 1934 with the “Law on the Arts and Services Allocated for Turkish Citizens” (TGNA Zabıt Ceridesi, 1934: 649-650). The Ghazi Mustafa Kemal delivers the opening speech in the Izmir Congress of Economics on February 17, 1923: “There is this rule for complete

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<sup>20</sup> To see the life stories in the Giaour Neighborhood, see Margosyan, M. Giaour Neighborhood.

independence: The sovereignty of a nation should be strengthened with the sovereignty of economy. (...) Despite of the greatness of political and military victories, if they were not followed by thrown with economical victory, there would be no success" (Ökçün, 1968: 251). What is quite clear in these words, as it was previously explained, is the nationalization of the economy. The 9th article accepted in the Congress of Economics affirmed, "[t]here would not be any relationship with the shops which do not abide to the language and legal laws of the country". Thus Turkish is determined as the only language to be spoken in trade life (Inan, 1982: 20). Thus, Turks gained an advantage at the expense of minorities. The decision to decrease the number of foreign citizens working in banks established with foreign capital is another policy in this direction. Bali states that, following this decision, civil servants from minorities were fired The percentage of fired minorities varied from 75 % to 100% according to different resources..(2001: 208). The Turks are employed instead of minority civil servants not only in big institutions but also in small enterprises such as hotels, pubs, restaurants and the like (2001: 208). The legal law about the obligatory usage of the Turkish language in commercial enterprises was accepted in the assembly on April 10, 1926. This policy violates the 39<sup>th</sup> article of the Lausanne which guarantees the freedom of language. Later on, according to the 28<sup>th</sup> article of the Law on Promoting Industry accepted on May 1927, civil servants', doormen's and the workers were all had to be Turkish. Because the expression of being Turkish was perceived as identical with the expression of being a Muslim, non-Muslims were inhibited from participating in economical and social life (Bali, 2001: 226-228).

In the work of Dady *Did Not Go to Ashkale*, Biberyan emphasizes on the industriousness of the Armenian nation. The mother of Baret asks his son who has returned from Ashkale to find a job. Nonetheless, Baret wants to be free. His uncle says, "our community do not like philosophers but ants". Besides, according to his uncle, it was not an easy thing to be free. "You have to sacrifice your freedom for the sake of not giving to others the right of interfering with your life. Even freedom itself is protected by paying its cost with freedom (2000a: 83-84). He says that it is not possible to be free but it is possible to live the life day by day. The only danger of such a life style is to become a vagabond. The work was

published first with the title of *The Ants*. The life style based on living under the rules, working like the ants is questioned by the author:

They always present the ants as the perfect examples. They want to turn the human beings into the ants. They are succeeding it as well. (...) I hate the ant. I neither wanted nor succeeded to become an ant in my entire life. (...) Construct the pyramids; establish cities, the buildings, the factories, the machines, the industry, and the civilization. Serve for all of these. A long life. And then, you die... For whom? For what? Who is benefiting from these? Who are enjoying these? ... Nobody. (2000a: 85).

To survive is only possible by living intensely. "If you can do the things, each of which could fill a few different days on its own, in one day, this means that you lived these few days within that one day. This means multiplying life twice, four times, ten times. Living a few years within one year. Living a few life-times within one life-time". So, that is what living life tensely is. "I can not find an Armenian word in order to express the intense living. May be, that is because of that we Armenians do not know how to live the life full. May be we are the most ant-like nation in the world (2000a: 90). According to the author who stresses that the Armenians are extremely hard-working people, free life is just a dream for this nation. In this case, Armenians seem to derive their morality from external world, i.e. Kantian phenomenal world, and "world of iron necessities". According to Kant, when morality is based on external world, we would never be free from "blind impersonal laws" (Kedourie, 1961: 32).<sup>21</sup> Here also, the moral value judgments are sacrificed for the sake of the fear about the others who could call Armenians "Lazy people" and consequently the freedom had to be lost. The freedom is explained on the basis of the market. People try to pursue their goals on their

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<sup>21</sup> Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) was one of the main predecessors of German thought who tried to provide "incontrovertible account of the scope and limits of human knowledge" (Kedourie, 1961:32). His theory of knowledge was based on two factors: "sensations impinge on a perceiving self which, with the help of categories inherent in it, imposes a synthetic intelligible unity on what would, otherwise, remain a chaos of unrelated and incoherent impressions". The categories of our mind transform the sensations into an experience only in space and time. We can never know things as they are, since they exist "in themselves independent of our observation". He calls this as "things-in-themselves". In external world, reality gives only appearances since sensations from outside can only "emanate from things-in-themselves" (Kedourie, 1961: 33). This external world, i.e. the phenomenal world is a world of "inexplicable contingencies" and "iron necessities". If our morality is derived our knowledge from this kind of knowledge "then we would never be free but always the slave either of contingency or of blind impersonal laws". Since morality is only "the outcome of obedience to a universal law which is to found within ourselves, not in the world appearances". This is freedom. Man is only free if he/she obeys the law of morality that finds within themselves. This good will is free will, which is autonomous will (22-24). Then individual become "the very center, the arbiter, the sovereign of the universe". It contains right to liberty and equality and individual determines by himself as a "free and moral being" (25). A good man as an autonomous man, must be free. In order to realize his/her freedom, "self- determination" becomes "the supreme political good" (29). In conclusion, the self-government is good government.

own. Nevertheless, freedom is, as it is clearly explained in the article, the humanely emancipation of the individual. Such emancipation, on the other hand, is the getting rid of “the impediments preventing various humanely powers from progressing in addition to preventing the establishment of a style of association in accordance with the human nature” (Bottomore et. al., 1993: 431).

The Armenian originated *Elo*, the character in the Fundermann’s work, is a lonely person although he lives in a Kurdish village as a Muslim man with his family. His loneliness of him dates back to his childhood. The villagers, who believe that the light color of his eyes is evil, provide him with food from time to time. (1999: 12) Together with his three brothers and sisters in law, the little Elo was grown up in a village where the Armenians live (16).

Alongside with the Armenian bones, the villagers found and used various pieces of jewelry while they were digging the holes to bury their wheat. According to the rumors, there exist the copper crucifixes, pearls of a century written on the parchment, and even the silver belts among these... The villagers were always searching for the treasure, which they imagine that was left by the Armenians. ... they were also destroying many things which can not be exchanged with money in one or another way, in order not to be collared because of smuggling pieces of historical value (1999: 17-18).

The Kurdish people settled in the village were in fact destroying Elo’s past by destroying the belongings left by Armenians. Though he did everything he was asked to be a part of the Kurdish community, Elo was never successful in becoming one of them. The Kurds for the sake of their material interests destroyed the remnants of Elo that represent his Armenian identity.

In the work titled *Alone People*, Kirkor, the main character, takes the revenge of being excluded from the society from his mother. The type of woman with whom he wants to be married would definitely not resemble an Armenian. He continuously criticizes his mother, and even her body:

The black eyebrows, black eye, a round face, red cheeks, thick, formless legs, big bones, a giant ass; all the characteristics of the women of the Anatolia and of the “Armenian broad”. As if, would not her appearance be different and, would not she manage to shape her offspring in the pattern of villagers. (...) The type he himself wanted was quite different. [A woman who is] blond, fragile, tall, who has a beautiful body, a pale skin, and who has the kindness of the urban way. On the contrary ‘the European type’ (...), ‘Armenian type’ was not admired, even, used for the ones who were humiliated by his mother or by his aunt. (Biberyan, 2000: 46).

Erol, one of the characters in the same work, represents the Turkish neighbor. The son of a family that got rich afterwards, hears Ağavni explaining how to cook dolma (vegetable, fowl, lamb, mussel, etc. filled with stuffing or dressing) to the taxi driver. According to Erol, this was the voice of “a woman of inferior quality”. This woman had all the physical characteristics of an Armenian women: “a fat body, tiny mustache and beard, gluttonousness, vanity, artificial chastity, and that well known way of pronouncing words” (2000: 110). As it was in the work of *Dady*



Figure 10. Jews

*Did Not Go to Ashkale*, Biberyan is extremely cruel against women in this work, too. The author, who develops a negative attitude towards Armenian mother character in this novel, turns the daughter of the Turkish family, which is the representative of the distorted social order, into a gadabout in his work titled *Alone People*. Erol's sister in

law, his father's daughter from a previous marriage, was also called as the gadabout. The girl continuously works in the domestic labor and is continuously despised. She protests this situation by wearing indecent clothes. Her mother in law does not approve of this situation at all, however, she does not react to her as they had to pay a lot to hire a housemaid (2000: 67).

The otherization was made not only on the basis of the ethnic attachment but also on the basis of physical appearance.<sup>22</sup> The body as the agent of carrying the

<sup>22</sup> In the press of the period of the tax on wealth and earnings the stereotype of the rich Jewish person was continuously used. These Jewish persons are the profiteers and possess the unjust earnings. They generally live on by exploiting people. These Jewish persons were drawn as fat persons with long noses and beards. See,

identity is scorned by stressing its racial characteristics and even the author makes an Armenian boy humiliate his own body. The thing that is met with general acceptance is women's body with "the blond hair, and with the colored eyes". E. Emine also deforms the character, her aunt Marta, in this manner in "The Byzantine Conversations". She does not like at all his aunt who is an authoritarian woman possessing small, brown eyes, a sharp chin, and a long nose (1988: 26). Avadia, who is a Jewish writer, emphasizes in her article published in *Birikim* that nobody's identity can be recognized with only one single characteristics and it is racism as well as an violation of the rights of the individual to defend the opposite. That is because of that, it is racist to degrade the identity of a person into his/her ethnic identity to use attributes such as coward, money – minded or hawk-nosed, which are ascribed to Jewish people and other minority groups, as seen in *Figures 10* and *11*. Avadia does not want herself and other members' of the Jewish community, continuously being reminded of being Jewish. Nevertheless, she neither wants their Jewish identity's being forgotten (1995:146).<sup>23</sup>

In other words, she does not want the continuous questioning of the identity but its social acceptance. The intolerance to difference was reduced to micro dimensions, which means its being reduced from abstract qualifications such as culture, ethnic identity to concrete physical characteristics. As Billig mentions in his concept of "banal nationalism", nationalism is continuously reproduced in daily life practices. By using the media of the mass communication, the bodies are differentiated as accepted and non-accepted ones, and the nationalism is continuously reproduced in daily life: Such as the fat Jewish person who represents wealth, the Armenian with black eyebrows, the Kurdish person with a

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Ramiz's typecasting of the profiteer Jewish man drawn in the journal "Karikatür"'s issue published in November 8, 1942.

<sup>23</sup> See Lizi Behmoaras, 1993 about a study showing how the Turkish intellectuals perceive Jewish people.

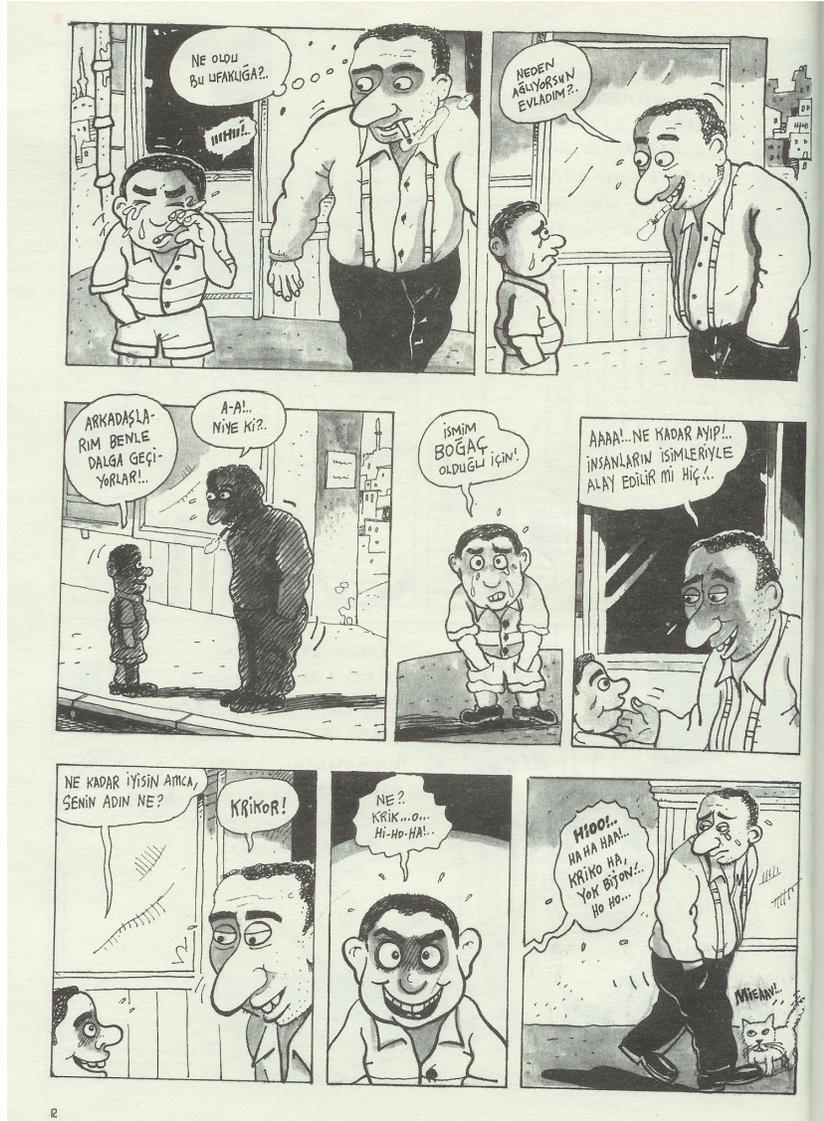


Figure 11. An Example of Otherization

Gicir, A., (2001), p.12

strong accent carrying an Oriental sore on his face. The otherization process, which is reflected in many ways varying from physical differences to the cultural value judgments, decreased the tolerance towards the minorities in contemporary Turkey.<sup>24</sup> Every identity with a different appearance from woman body to burglar Gypsies, from Kurds with a strong accent to the stingy Jews is otherized. Ironically, Yelda describes this phenomena as such “how much of democracy, that much of mosaic” (1995: 105).

<sup>24</sup> Mallet searched the caricatures Jewish people published in the *Karikatür Dergisi* between 1936 and 1948 and explained that in many of the Jewish stereotypes in the caricatures, it is seen an antagonism against the Jewish people by Christian origins. The Jewish people were Semite - nosed, hook - handed, with bushy eyebrows, beard and round shaped hats just like they are shown in the caricatures drawn in Europe. In addition to this stereotyping, the Turkish drawers described Jewish persons as bald-headed small merchants with a father-like look, and a big belly which indicated their business was going well (1996: 26-27).

### 6.1.1.3. The Enemy

Fundermann (1999: 20), in *Giaour Elo*, illustrates that the Kurds set the village they settled down on fire. Since the Armenians, who were the original owners of the village, were forced to migrate, all their fields and houses remained empty. “Referring to the Sultan declared that, all of these belong to you, and ordered you to use them as you wish. It is enough that there exist no Armenians, not even one of them was left.” Fundermann refers to the Hamidiye Regiments, which Abdülhamit constituted from Kurds who adjusted themselves into the settled social order. In order to stop the Armenians who struggle for their independence following the Bulgarian model and to provide public security, the Ottoman Sultan constituted “Hamidiye Regiments of the Light Cavalrymen” in 1891 (Timur, 1989: 328). As it is mentioned in the 4th chapter, the Hamidiye Regiments put pressure on the Armenians who live in the regions where the armed Kurdish tribes exist in large numbers.

One of the elder characters in the work, the Kurdish Emere Silinge, narrates how he killed the Armenians. He says, “In our region, we filled the Armenians into a barn, I myself cut off twenty of them. My arms got exhausted; the persons around me continued doing this. People from the village of Xaçe Raşe helped as well. They also killed some but we killed of those filles more than them”. The merciful ones who witnessed this massacre say that “do not do this, or else God will never forgive you. This doesn't become a Muslim, their curses will haunt us in peace. These were our neighbors from whom we borrow tea, sugar, with whom we warm up in front of the fire and whom we told our complaints to”. Silinge who has expertise on following trail joined the *Hamidiye* Regiments without having a military education. He became the leader of a small unit and took part in acts of violence of various gangs. He was taken under arrest since his name was rumored to have been involved in many robberies and murders. He was set free since he was serving for the *Hamidiye* Regiments. When Kurds were allowed to settle down in the Armenian villages, he settled in one of the villages with fertile land. The author interprets about the Silinge: “The mind of Emere Silinge was not getting anything else; why the Sultan did not let the others except Armenians to be killed. For the time being, he obstinately focused on Armenians. He said let

them be killed, first. Oh, if it is permitted just for once. He liked neither the Syrian Orthodoxes nor the Yezidis, but he was not able to do anything. For those who killed among these groups he said, 'I thought they were Armenians' as an excuse" (Fundermann, 1999: 21). For Silinge, not being a Muslim is enough to deserve to be killed.

The economic differences between ethnic groups accelerated further ethnic and religious diversification. The Armenians, which means the enemies, want to separate from the Ottoman Empire and gain their independence although they were had fertile land and beautiful houses. They were living under much better conditions compared with nomad Kurdish people. Due to the differences in the patterns of their social organizations and their way of lives, these two ethnic groups approach each other with fear and doubt (Blom, 2001: 94). Fear can be defined as an unpleasant feeling of perceived risk and as a feeling of extreme dislike to some conditions or conditions (Web of Wikipediea). This "natural fear and doubt" directed experienced against strangers rises the level of otherization up to the level of perceiving them as enemies and fully justifies the destruction of the "other".

Robber's Cave studies in conflict theory explain the motive for destroying the other. "Conflict theory" searches the causes of group conflict that includes what is termed as enemy images. The major source of conflicts is scarcity of resources (Sheriff et al., 1961: 4). Tajfel and Turner developed the theory (1986: 7-24), whereby they demonstrate that the mere perception of belonging to two different groups is quite enough to provoke intergroup competitive actions and discriminations. Spilmanns (1991: 57 –76), by applying this term to ethnic conflicts, observed a set of perceptions in the members of both ethnic groups that they called the "syndrome of the enemy image". They explored seven elements defining this syndrome. These are:

1. Distrust: "everything originating with the enemy is either bad or -if it appears to be reasonable- created for dishonest reasons".
2. Placing the guilt on the enemy: "the enemy is responsible for the tension which exists and is to blame for everything that is negative under the predominating circumstances".

3. Negative anticipation: “whatever the enemy does is intended to harm us”.
4. Identification with evil: “the enemy embodies the opposite of what we are and strive for, wants to destroy what we value most and must therefore be destroyed”.
5. Zero-sum thinking: “anything which benefits the enemy harms us and vice versa”.
6. De-individualisation: “anyone who belongs to a given group is automatically our enemy”.
7. Refusal of empathy: “we have nothing in common with our enemy; there is no information which could divert us from the enemy perception; human feelings or ethical criteria towards the enemy are dangerous and ill advised” (57-58).

When all of these reasons come together, the one who is perceived as the enemy turns into an object that can be destroyed comfortably. The story of the snake narrated below constitutes a good example of this situation.

#### **6.1.1.4. The Snake**

In Aharonyan’s short story titled *Khai*, an unarmed heduk who searches for food around the Sim Mountain meets a Kurdish man. The Armenian says, “good morning, kirva”. The word *kirva*, the godfather, has the meaning of “my friend”, yet, the Kurdish man responds, “good morning, fla”. The word *fla* means unfaithful in the Kurdish language and is used as a humiliating term for Christians (2001: 42). The Kurdish man, a soldier in the *Hamidiye* Regiments, get suspicious of becomes doubtful of the Armenian who walks alone. The negative anticipation, which means the image of enemy and distrust, is quite obvious in this story. The Armenian tells Kurdish man that he was going to *Derdan* to get food for his children. The Kurdish man insists on taking him to the sub-governor (43). The author presents the Armenian who is a member of a squadron as an innocent man. In fact, the Armenian is a bouncer who seeks to find food for his group. The Armenian and Kurdish men witness a fight between a snake and a stork while walking on their way. The author narrates a fight with reference to the antagonistic relationship between the Armenian and Kurdish people. The Kurd “said, so you see, the Fla is a snake. It is necessary to destroy it just like this” (44). The stork that hits the snake mortally is associated with the Kurd. “Suddenly, something

surprising took place. The half death reptile gathered its force. It expanded its circle, risen its head up, tightening like a whip, it wrapped itself around the stork and it began squeezing. The bird began twisting and turning but no use.... it tightened himself around the neck of the bird more and more and the bird dies at last” (44). According to the Armenian hero, who says that he never saw that a snake was able to suffocate a stork, the merciless enemy of the snake.

Nevertheless, as narrated in the story, the snake beats the enemy: “Would the Allah father, who does not permit a disgusting reptile like the snake to be the innocent victim of the stork, would allow that this Kurdish man, this creature ten times more disgusting than the snake, take my life from my hands?” (45). The Armenian who does not carry any weapon on himself finds an opportunity and kills the Kurdish man. The story of the snake and the stork turns into the reality (47).

The Kurds, the enemy of the Armenians, which means the other, is associated with the stork. The Kurd who is “ten times more disgusting” than the Armenian is associated with the snake. This disgusting and wicked Kurdish man deserves to be killed. The Armenian defines the Kurdish man as a disgusting creature, i.e. the Kurdish man turns into a creature, which is identified with the evil that deserves to be destroyed. Since a person is perceived, as he is subjected to be antagonist de-individualisation. So, he never questions his actions, he never thinks about their moral dimension. The enemy should be destroyed and there is no need for empathy.

#### **6.1.1.5. The Brotherhood**

In contrast to Aharonyan’s work, which is written under war conditions and which depicts the Turks as enemies, in Margosyan’s short stories, the discourse of the brotherhood is dominant.

In our region, in *Diyarbakır*, some part of the creatures which the sublime God created and called as the “human being” later on, were living all together in a peace. Our God was the same but our prophets were different. We constructed “Houses of God” in which we can reach our sublime God by becoming its slaves and subjects with our prayers to offer our thanks to our sublime God. Nevertheless, we were exhibiting different languages, expressions, rituals and beliefs in praying God. The names of our God houses were different too. According to some of us, the house of

God was the mosque, according to some of us, it was the church and according to some others, it was the synagogue. (. . .)” (Margosyan, 2000: 51-52).

The peoples of *Diyarbakır* who choose a reconciling way of life do not struggle with each other as they have learnt how to live in peace.

In Ceyhan's work of *Who is Knocking on the Door*, the theme of brotherhood is emphasized as well. In the work, an Armenian family accompanied with the gendarmes, as mentioned in exile section, comes to the police station. When leaving them, the gendarme who accompanies the family says, “I am not an iron, a firewood, but a human being like you. I had ceased to be a man by continuously hurting my conscience. It is as if I had turned into a wound up machine. I hope the God rescues you from this narrow passage...” (Ceyhan, 1999: 46). Before reaching Der Zor, to their last stop, the family comes to the Urfa police station. The head of the station says, “these practises of the government going on for years are completely mistaken and wrong. The ones who threw this giant state into the abyss can only save their lives by running. They sabotaged the brotherhood, and the habit of living together, which came into being over years and years. These acts had terrible consequences. According to our belief, such dreadful behaviors are not approved by God” (1999:100). The head of the police station, which seems a merciful man, sends them to *Besni*, where he himself was born and where they can live in comfort, instead of sending them to Der Zor. The author clearly implies in his work that there are also merciful people among the ones who represent the state and he appreciates their fraternal behaviors. Not everyone who represents the state is cruel and merciless but there are some civil servants who question the policies of the state. Nevertheless, such civil servants are just a few. Moreover, they were helping not because they are civil servants but because of their humanly qualifications. As a summary, most Armenian authors that wrote about rural life in Anatolia emphasize fraternity.

#### **6.1.1.6. Homesickness**

Aharonyan in his short story titled *Aşugh* (1899) (The Wandering Minstrel) narrates the story of an elder man who sings folk songs in an Armenian graveyard. Folk songs are the means to voice all the pain they have been

through. The author wants the Armenian lobby become more active in Armenian foreign politics for the recognition of forced emigration as genocide. The blind minstrel wants that this experience be heard by the world:

Even the world falls into silence, you speak my saz, (a special stringed Turkish music instrument)  
There are the sensitive folk songs to be told by Achough the Blind,  
If our sons forget about these catastrophes,  
While in the arms of pain and fear,  
In misery and submerged into blood,  
Let the world say, shame on you, the Armenians...  
(...)  
If our sons forgive you,  
If they forget the blood spilled,  
Let the world say, shame on you, the Armenians (1999: 109-110).

The Armenian-American writer, William Soroyan, goes his home in his village near Bitlis and takes a stone from his ruined house when the Menderes cabinet was in power. Çerkezyan concludes that the stone taken from the house symbolizes homesickness. All the Armenian who live in Syria, Lebanon, France, America and Canada are Anatolian people. Most of them were forced to leave the country even though their life standards in Turkey were good. They left all of their properties and wealth behind them as well. Therefore, they have started from scratch in places where they had gone and mostly lived in misery. The stories of cruelty at that time were subject matters of family conversations and children grew up with these terrible stories. The pain of the Armenians of the diaspora was never cured. This is why, the generations with feelings of revenge, grow up. Çerkezyan's opinions about the event of Ekmekciyan are as follows:

Neither attributing the deeds of one individual to the nation as a whole is a fair thing, nor evaluating just the results without considering the causes...  
First of all, a quite good knowledge of history is necessary, for not living such painful events again and again, for the protection of fraternity and friendship between peoples, these are pleasant things.  
It is necessary to rise the consciousness of our people, it is necessary for them to know and never forget their history and interests, so that our peoples will not be tricked into killing each other by the politics of dominant powers (Çerkezyan, 2003:27).

In his short story *Erciyes*, Kebabcıyan narrates Garabet's travel to *Kayseri*. The main character of the story visits an underground city and a church. Actually, the character was searching for his past. While strolling around the underground city constructed hundred years ago, Garabet feels the same emotions, he felt during his visit of an Anatolian Greek church. He thinks of the people who had taken

shelter in this Church but could not escape from the massacre (2000: 35). He actually wants to see the Surp Garabed Monastery in Erciyes. He imagines that they would ask him what he was doing in a monastery, next to a military zone. The character gets extremely anxious: “The name, the surname, the name of the father, the address. Are you an Armenian?” (39). He fears that he would be subjected to a different treatment as an Armenian, that is, he would be subjected to mistreatment just as his ancestors, by official authorities. He searches old neighborhoods but he could not find any of them. However, “there must be Armenians around here, Armenian merchants. Is it not so? He carefully glanced over the signs of the shops and firms. All of them had Turkish names.” (39). Although his ambition to find an Armenian fails, he finds the church. There were restorations in the church and he gets information from the priest. “He locks the door to prevent the workers from coming inside. ‘May be something gets lost...’ Yes, there were many things to do. Thanks God, their church was not put in fire like the Black Church; but the humidity made enormous harm. He was staying in *Diyarbakır* and visiting the communities in the province one by one. ‘Nothing exist in *Erzurum* anymore, but there are more than ten families in *Erzincan*, there are fourteen of them in *Boğazlıyan*’, finding something which belongs to the past, Garabet feels, at least, a little comfort now (43).

There exist a huge amount of yearning for the past in addition to search for lost lives in literary works. In this environment dominated by fear, the idea that character’s life in novels can be in danger gains strength. The existence of these fears led Armenians not to oppose to the government policies. Therefore they have been conceived as conservative by Diaspora Armenians. While the recognition of 1915 events internationally as a genocide is a very significant politics for the Republic of Armenia, the Turkish Armenian community keeps silent. Furthermore, the Armenian community living in Turkey has never approved anti-Turkey politics due to practical reasons either. They have not supported the politics of the diaspora.<sup>25</sup> For this reason, the Turkish Armenians have been

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<sup>25</sup> Hrant Dink, the General Director of AGOS newspaper, tells, in an interview, “ I am addressing to the Armenians of Diaspora. No one should ask ‘accept the genocide ... neither from Turkey nor from any other great states. This is the pain of my nation and I ... would carry this pain forever’. Accepting that the anger that diaspora Armenians feel is the main factor which produces Armenian identity, Dink mentions, ‘the Armenia should fill’ the gap of this trauma (Milliyet, July 9, 2004).

conceived as conservatives (Bali et. al. 2002: 920 –921). It would not be very wrong to classify the Armenian communities as the Armenian community of the diaspora who migrated from Anatolia; the Armenian community of the Armenians living in *İstanbul*; and the Armenians of Armenia that constituted the Armenians of Anatolia and Caucasia. The Armenians living in *İstanbul* have not supported Armenian international politics and they even organized some demonstrations against Armenia to show their affiliation with their state. Armenians living outside of Turkey were not tolerant to this attitude, which was part of their “life strategy”. Nevertheless, such attitude pleased neither the Turkish government nor the Armenians of the diaspora. The Armenians of Turkey have been evaluated by both sides as the people who do not belong to them, as the “other” (922).

#### **6.1.1.7. The Patriotism**

Nationalism and patriotism are two different concepts. While “being able to live freely in a determined place” constitutes the essence of patriotism, nationalism is characterized by the concept of the will to obtain power (Viroli, 1995: 14). Patriotism develops in public space, which permits and supports the existence of democratic self-administration. For a liberal patriot person, cultural, religious or ethnic homogeneity are not a necessity (1995: 199). Çerkezyan, describes himself as a patriot and not as a nationalist. Although *Taşnak* militant Dirdat Şirinyan, fought against the Turkish army, he never became the enemy of Turks. According to Çerkezyan, he had “a pure patriotism. (...) You imagine that, saying, ‘It is an honor for me to have my photograph under the sculpture of the savior of Turkey’, he was referring to his photograph taken under the sculpture of Mustafa Kemal in *Samsun*. He was continuously telling me that, “You should never get jealous of anyone. You would not be jealous of the Turks, they have the right to feel the pride, the right to celebrate the victory, and the right to feast and the right to do everything. But, you must know how to love your people ” (2003: 167).

Patriotism, for Durkheim is a sentiment. As it is evaluated in chapter 2, nationality necessitates human groups to develop political ties with a political state. An existence of sovereign authority is important for nationality. When individual joins a political society he feels himself attached to society with the bond of sentiment

(quoted in Guibernau, 1996: 29). For Rousseau, there is a need for faith in order to keep society. Patriotism provides this faith as a morality of public virtue. A patriot has strong ties with his own society and is emotionally attached, so he can fight against counter attacks (Stumpf, 1989: 295).<sup>26</sup>

Nationalism constitutes both the supremacy of nation – state above all and assumptions about the will to self-determination (Marshall, 1998: 439). If Çerkezyan defines himself as a nationalist, it may mean that he seeks the right of self-determination for Turkish Armenians and he values Armenian nation state above all other nations. Therefore Çerkezyan can only define himself as an Armenian Turkish citizen living in Turkey. The words of Şirinyan, who is the character of Çerkezyan's novel, about the festivals of the Turkish Republic brings clarity to this situation:

Look, today is the day of the festival of the Turkish Republic, my son, the Turks are celebrating, they have the right of doing festival. They have the right to be joyful and to tell stories of their heroism ...They have the right to do everything. That is all right, we entered into the war, we also did heroic deeds as well, they killed us and we killed them, too, but that is something separate. You should never get jealous of them. However, we should respect theirs and we should also love ours, too (2003:167).

Çerkezyan narrates the meaning of nationalist with reference to Taşnak militant Levon Ekmekciyan who came from Lebanon to organize a terrorist activity in *Istanbul* in 1982. The family of Ekmekciyan has Anatolian origins and was subjected to forced emigration. They are among the families who could not come back to Anatolia, and had to settle in Arabic countries. They were quite well off

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<sup>26</sup> French philosopher, Jean Jack Rousseau (1712-1778) defined the concept of patriotism, citizenship, who proposed the idea of free will, has a deep impact on political science and German Romanticism. A stable society has some opinions and values that majority accepts as binding rule for their thought and behavior. Sometimes these values can be weakened by philosophy and science. While science and philosophy try to discover universal truth, pursuing these truths may expose the local opinion as less than truth. Then it may lose its authority. A mechanism keeping the society together is faith except knowledge, but skepticism may cause damage by loosening morality of public virtue, i.e. virtue of patriotism. Spirit of the science is cosmopolitanism, not patriotism, but for a patriot spirit is strong attachment to his own society. In order to fight these counter attacks, strong governments are necessary to keep the peace, and pave the way despotism (Stumpf, 1989: 294-295). Citizenship in society is very important in his philosophy. When men sacrifice their own selfishness and being natural men, the danger of being tyranny of majority will be solved. Since “general will” are “will of all” citizens (297). The distinction between men and citizens does not put a division between citizenship and patriotism. These two concepts can be meaningful and complementary within the context of nation – state. Patriotism “is the work of spontaneous will, citizenship is the work of rational will” while citizen means “fine and lively feeling which he gives the force of self-love all the beauty of virtue, and lends it an energy which, without disfiguring it, makes it the most heroic of all passions” (Barnard, 1984 quoted from Özkırmlı, 2000: 21).

when they lived in Anatolia. The children of families who lost all their properties and wealth, grown up in the poor neighborhoods on the outskirts of cities. They grew up “living in the tinplate houses, in the heaviest misery. They painted houses, worked as a porter, became prostitutes, they did everything in order to stand on their feet. Nevertheless, when they came to their homes at night, when they were having dinner, they had grown up listening the stories of Turkish cruelty directed to themselves”. Çerkezyan thinks that it is normal for these children, who grew up in streets, to be filled with hatred. He emphasizes that these children bet with each other to “shoot one or two Turks in Turkey and to contribute to the solution of the problem”. In his opinion, “what is this ignorant person able to do? Ignorant. ... His father is a hashish-addict who sells meatballs in streets. This man could only live like that. You get angry, or you feel mercy, whichever you wish. Obviously, he was unlikely to give "bunch of flowers" as present to Turks saying, you did these evil deeds to us for so many of years... You would either become a nationalist or become a communist. He became nationalist” (2003: 172). Çerkezyan describes nationalism as an ideological movement. This ideological explanation is in accordance with the definition of nationalism as “the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity and identity of a human population” (Smith, 1999c: 11). This idea can be pushed further to legitimize the use of power against the citizens of nations who mistreated minority groups within their territory.

In Kebabçıyan’s short story, titled *The Existence of Yesterday is in Today*, friends of Kebabçıyan talk with each other while having dinner. Mösyö Jak stares at the flags were hung on the balcony of the pension where they are having dinner. The flags of different nations were hung on in order to create an international ambiance. Next to the tiny flags of other nations, “on a larger pole, a gigantic Turkish flag waves. He definitely had forbidden himself to think such things at the time; even now, he was staring around as if someone would intuitively discern his thoughts”. May be, this patriotic attitude of Mösyö Jak was something peculiar to all minorities, who are not attached to the “religion of God”. The purpose was “doing the necessary thing, especially at the moment of danger, by a forced self-sacrificing”. The same thing had happened in the May 27, 1960 as well. Since the military revolution was brought about, it was prohibited to go out for any purpose. As soon as he says this to his mother, the woman rushed to the bedroom and

took the red flag from the wardrobe and hung it urgently on a place where everybody could see, on the window, facing the street” (2000: 116). The motif of hanging the flag actually gives the message we are also your part and we do not want to be seemed in contradiction with you, we would agree whichever decision the state takes.

## **6.2. The Pontian Identity: “The Lost Pontus”**

Andreadis' literary works of *Tolika*, “*Take Me Bacikam/Sister, Those Who Have Secret Religion, Tamama The Lost Girl of Pontus* are analyzed in this section. The history of Pontus, the years passing by under the Turkish administration, the struggle of independence, which began with the Russian occupation, and the exile were expressed in these works. Although it is mentioned that the analysis would not be based on the historical facts and it would be contented with the theoretical explanations in the beginning of this chapter, it is necessary to mention some historical facts as the identity of the Pontian Greeks is shaped by historical events. Andreadis clearly explains to what extent the events, which he narrated in his work titled as *Tolika*, are significant in the construction of the identity of the Pontian people. As it was explained before, the author, who has Pontian origins, narrates the events that shaped the identity of the Pontian people, in his works by referring to the historical events. Because of the irresponsibility of the European states, Constantinople (*İstanbul*) was lost to Turks in the year of 1453 and the Trapezunda (*Trabzon*) lost in the year 1461. Again, as a result of co-operation of two big Western states, Germany and Austria, the Unionists left the Armenians be subjected to a massacre between 1914 and 1918. Also due to the indifference of the Western powers, thousands of Hellenic people was sent away from their houses, from their hometowns by force and violence between 1919 and of 1922. Andreadis claims that “the Pontus, the Asia Minor and the Thrace became bereft of people and was abandoned and it became broken and separated from the Christian culture completely. Therefore, the whole lively culture was destroyed, and it disappeared. ... So, the Church of *Trabzon* lost its function. Additionally, our heritage was owned by other people, our homes changed their owners” as a result of the “*Mikrasyatiki Katastrofi*” (The Catastrophe of the Asia Minor) in 1922

and of the great population exchange in 1923 (1999b: 94-95).<sup>27</sup> Based on these explanations, it could be concluded that the nationalist identity of the Pontian Greeks after the year of 1920 was constructed upon the discourse of the lost lands. Analyzing Yörük's (? : 118-119)<sup>28</sup> arguments about the construction of the nation-state in the context of the Pontian people, it could be said that the most significant causes of the struggle of Pontians for independence is to avoid the assimilation process and to seize ownership of their own language and culture. Nevertheless, it could be inferred that in case of being independent, Pontian people might follow the same procedure that was applied to them by the Ottomans, which some people opposed as minorities. Pontian people perceive the lands that they were living together with Turks and also with Armenians as their own lands and they accept the existence of the other ethnic components only temporarily. Such an attitude, on the other hand, gives way to nationalism of the negative, the unequal and of the racist type. This understanding of nationalism, which could be described as the resurrection of the being suppressed, turns a yearning for a state of its own into a yearning for a state, which has the power of oppressing its own minorities.

Working for providing the independence of Greece, *Etniki Eteriya* (The National Association), continued its activities after Greece gained its independence. The purpose of the Association is to encourage the Greeks living within the borders of the Ottoman State to rebel against the Turkish state. In order to pursue the *Megola Idea* (The Great Ideal), the Greeks entered into the war against the Bulgarians and against the Ottomans in the Balkan Peninsula under the

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<sup>27</sup> In his study published on the Internet, Haralabopoulos (1996) mentions that the 300,000 of the 700,000 Pontian Greeks living in this region, which was Hellenized since 2800 years, were killed during the period between the years of 1914 and 1922. According to Haralabopoulos, who assumes an extremely nationalist discourse, the Pontian people who died because of such reasons like exile, starvation, illnesses, the murder and fires, lost their unique history. Pontian people today are living separated from each other as persons who lost their unique history and spread to various countries of the world. According to the author, the crimes of Turks such as committing genocide and deporting people from their ancestral homelands must not remain unpunished. "The Ottoman and Kemalist Turks were responsible for the genocide of the Pontian people, ... The international community must recognize this crime". In those kinds of nationalist studies, the population of the Pontian people was exaggerated just as the population of the Armenians. According to the report presented by Venizelos in the year of 1919, totally 477, 828 Anatolian Greeks were living in the Anatolian cities of *Trabzon*, Sivas and of Kastamonu. While Pavlidis claiming that 800.000 Anatolian Greeks were living in the Pontus region before the First World War, Economides mentions that 700.000 Anatolian Greeks were living in the region during 1920s (Güler, 2001: 136 –137).

<sup>28</sup> Publishing date of Yörük's work is not mentioned.

leadership of the Association. Beginning from 1904, to establish a Pontian state centered on *Trabzon* was among the major goals of the Association (1995: 83). Because Pontian region was distant from Greece and, Pontian Greeks renounced their claim to make the state, which would be established in the future, be dependent on Greece. However, the Association reacted to the tendency of giving Pontus to Armenia, a solution that Venizelos perceived as reasonable. Following this, in the first issue of the newspaper *Pontos* published in *İstanbul* on March 4, 1919 the Pontian National Unity announces “the efforts would be spent for the establishment of a Republic of the Anatolian Greeks in *Trabzon*”. Akşin states that the traditional methods, popular in that period, were applied for the efforts spent in that direction. These were the methods such as organizing armed rebellions, and presenting the intervention of the government or of the Muslim people into their affairs as “massacre” (1992: 241).

According to Andreadis, when the Sultan Mehmet invaded the city of *Trabzon* in the year of 1461, both the newcomers and the ones changing their religions emerged in the city. When the Sultan permits giving privileges to non-Muslims, a few churches were constructed in the city. The Anatolian Greeks, the Armenians and the Muslims lived all together in peace in *Trabzon*, which has seven different neighborhoods (1997: 19-20). At the time when the Second Abdülhamid accepted the 1908 Constitutional Law and declared the second Constitutional Monarchy, whereby, as was discussed in the fourth chapter, equal rights without any exceptions were given to all of the Ottoman subjects. This event was celebrated with enthusiasm by Pontian Greeks (Andreadis, 1999b: 26). According to the author, the Armenians and Muslims began to nurture resentment to each other upon the arrest some of the Armenians, who had the map of the Great Armenia in *Trabzon* in 1913. The Anatolian Greeks were not bothered with the Armenian peoples being sent to exile since they were their biggest competitors in business affairs. The “resent of the Muslims” and “the enmity of the Christian Anatolian Greeks” against the Armenians became dominant in *Trabzon* where they lived together in peace until that day (Andreadis, 1997: 20-21). In August 1914, the emigration of 20.000 Kosovo-originated Muslim refugees to the *Samsun* region increased the already existing social disorder and uneasiness. At first, the incoming people were placed into the military barracks and into the schools. Later

on, another solution was found. For their being sheltered: “the refugee brothers could occupy the empty houses in the village. Somehow or other, the unbeliever Anatolian Greeks had already left these houses. The Christians had driven these people away from their houses; therefore, they could be permitted to settle down in the Christian houses” (1997: 39). In *Tolika*, the author mentions that the empty Christian houses belonged to Anatolian Greeks who went to Russia to earn money (1999b: 27). The settlement of the refugees into the houses of the Christians who were not living in their houses for a temporary period made Pontian Greeks quite angry.

In *Tamama* it is narrated that Russia declared the war against the Ottoman Empire and invaded its land in the year of 1916. An army coming from *Batum* was moving towards *Trabzon* and another army was moving towards the inner regions of the country passing through *Kars*. The Muslim men became terrified because of the Russian invasion and escaped: “People in terrible outfits and with wild facial expressions filled all the towns and villages of Western Pontus. There were rumors about the existence of a great number of Armenians who have something not so good in their minds and who have duties in the Russian army” (1997: 54). Because of the application of the forced emigration, the Armenians were after to take the revenge of their resentment. The Turkish people believed that the Armenians would kill all the Muslims in order to take their revenge. When the Russian reached Gomutra, located a few kilometers further away from *Trabzon*, the local governor of *Trabzon* hands the administration over a temporary government under the leadership of Chrisanthos, the Christianity Archbishop, at the date of August 16, 1916, instead of handing it over the Russians. According to the author, Azmi, the local governor, says, “we have taken this country from the Anatolian Greeks and we are delivering it to the Anatolian Greeks, now (1997: 55).

When the Russian entered into *Trabzon*, they found the administration of the Anatolian Greeks instead of the Turkish administration. The author clearly states that, Pontian people, who lived in peace with the Turks, met Russians coming with joy and cried out of the happiness.

A dream cherished for centuries was coming true now. The Archbishop Chrisanthos had learnt prayers in the Russian language within 24 hours, and organized a religious ceremony in the Cathedral of Aya Gregori, for the honor of the Russian soldiers who entered into Trabzon. The excitement of the people of Trabzon was so huge that, all of them learnt one or two words in the Russian language in order to be able to speak with the "rescuers of the state" (1997: 56).

According to the author, the *Trabzon* youth was attached to the Great Ideal with great excitement. The Pontian students, who did not learn the Turkish language, which was obligatorily taught in the schools since the beginning of the century, learnt the Russian language sufficiently to develop a conversation with their "rescuers" in a few weeks. The newspapers published articles advocating integration with Greece, the Christians hang Greek flags on their houses, and religious ceremonies are performed everywhere. From now on, "*Trabzon* got Hellenized again" (1997: 70).

Not meeting any military resistance, the Russian army moves ahead as far as the Harsit stream, where the Turkish army sets its defensive line, around the *Tirebolu* region. Besides, not being able to step into the region, where the Western Pontian people live, the Russians stay here until the October Revolution. When the Soviet Union was established, the foundation of foreign policies followed by Russia radically changes. Moreover, this situation causes the dreams Eastern Pontian Greeks to collapse. While the Russian occupation of Eastern Pontus welcomed with great joy by the Pontian people living here, the situation is much more different in the Western Pontian region. The people of Western Pontus, who cannot get the Russian support, cannot develop an armed resistance against Turks. The Christian population in the region was subjected to the ethnic purification (1997: 56). In the short story with the title of *Tamama*, which narrates the story of an Anatolian Greek woman who had been living in Turkey and was searching for her brothers and sisters, the author explains how her sisters and brothers living in Greece completely forgotten about her with these words: "Symela (*Tamama's sister*) was ashamed of saying that she has a lost sister who had chosen to live in Turkey as a Turkish woman. (...) Besides this, being uneducated and ignorance were also contributing to her prejudices. Yet, thanks to certain value judgments; their national identity was able to maintain its existence even during the long years of the exile process" (1997:87). Here, the Turkicization was perceived

as identical with converting into another religion.<sup>29</sup> Tamama left them behind; she became Islamicized and took a refuge behind the enemy. For that reason, she also turned into the other.

For Andreadis, getting angry about the occupation of *Trabzon*, the Unionists developed a violent intervention to the Western Pontus, according to the author. The fanaticism together with hatred strengthened this anger. Consequently, the gendarme forces burned down Pontian villages and got terrorized local people badly. The author describes this situation as such: “the cost of the barbarousness was put on the shoulders of the Christians living in the Western Black Sea. The antipathy against them and the will to send them away increased. The murders and the crimes became legitimized” (1999b: 42). 47 Christians were sentenced to death in the Orologia Square in the city of *Samsun*. These events encouraged the Pontian groups of resistance to get organized: “To take the revenge of the mistreatment of our youngsters and being agitated by these events constituted the vicious circle of that period. Murder and crime began to prowl around in this region. Fanaticism began to rise from its grave and to haunt people” (42). The Russians, on the other hand, uses these prescriptions for the purpose of creating confusion in the Ottoman army. The guerilla forces gained both the military support of the Russians by being provided with soldiers in addition to being given the military equipment and ammunition. (43).

According to Andreadis, another reason for the worsening situation then is the Independent Assembly of Pontus, which the Pontian people of *Trabzon* established in 1916 in Batum. Matteos Kofidis, the veteran deputy of *Trabzon*, Nikos Kapetanidis and the merchant Akriditis were accused of establishing the independent Pontus state and they were punished by death. In the court, which Nikos Kapetanidis was taken to, he says that, “I never tried to establish an independent Pontus state... in my entire life-time, I struggled to be able to claim to be the owner of my own identity” (Andreadis, 1999b: 63). From these words, we

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<sup>29</sup> Surname Act enacted in the Republican period, the Turkish citizens had to take a surname. The Commander Mustafa, who adopted Tamama as his daughter, chose Okay as his surname and he registered Tamama to the Public Registration Office after changing Tamama’s name into Raife (1997: 88).

can conclude that the Pontian people never defined themselves by their attachment to the Ottoman state.

In his Nutuk (Public Address), Atatürk states that Venizelos gave the duty of supporting the activities about the independence of both of Western Thrace and of Pontus to the *İstanbul* Patriarchate. An organization under the title of Pontian Government of Anatolian Greeks was established in Batum on December 18, (*Kanunuevvel* according to the Ottoman calendar system) 1919. On June 19, 1920 a congress was organized in Batum by Anatolian Greek people of the Black Sea, of Caucasus, and of Northern Russia. The decisions taken were sent to *İstanbul* Patriarchate in the form of a diplomatic note. Mentioning that the Anatolian Greeks now revealed their intentions, Atatürk explains that strict precautions were taken. By the support they gained from the surrounding regions, the number of Pontian forces increased to 25,000 from a number about 6000-7000. Following this, the Third Army Corps, which was based in *Sivas*, went to this region to take control. The Fifth Army Corps, which was in *Erzurum* at that time, fought with the Anatolian Greek guerilla force called as *Köroğlu*. On the other hand, local Muslim people were supported and the national struggle organizations were established (Atatürk, 1998: 448-451).

While narrating the sufferings of the Western Pontian people who were displaced, the author expresses that the people of the Eastern Pontian region was living in national pride. The people of Eastern Pontus did not even realize the sufferings that their brothers and sisters living in the West had to endure. The dream, which had been waited for centuries, becomes realized after long years of slavery. Being terrified because of the idea that the Pontian people would mistreat them, Muslim people ran away by leaving their children behind after the administration of *Trabzon* was delivered to Pontian people. It was never stated that the families of the children might have been threatened death by Pontian. The Archbishop expresses that how benevolent their behavior was towards the children of the coward Muslims (Andreadis, 1997: 70).

There were a quite large number of fervent Anatolian Greeks who wanted to take the revenge from the Muslims of all the pains they had been suffering. Nevertheless, the shadow of the Archbishop was always present everywhere. Because of being terrified, the Muslim men had already run away and escaped as the migrants. Their families and little children were left behind defenseless. The Archbishop established

kitchens, serving soup for the children, and for the first time, a primary school, which would be dependent on the municipality, was constructed. (1997:70).

Albayrak expresses that the Metropolitan Chrisanthos captured the administration of the city with the support of the Anatolian Greeks during the Russian occupation of *Trabzon*. Then the Pontian Greeks who were supporting the Russians were withdrawn and were sent to Greece in order to support the invasion of Izmir by the Archbishop Chrisanthos (2003: 252).

The poet Doctor Philon Ktenidis, who was indisputably a patriot, wrote lyrics of the march titled “The New People who Belong to Pontus” (Appendix 16) This poem was accepted as the national march of the “Republic of Pontus” by the National Council in the year of 1918 (Andreadis, 1997: 72). The despot Germanos Karavangelis, who had been on exile, came back to *Samsun*. He was welcomed with great enthusiasm. Kotira, which means the Anatolian Greeks of *Ordu* region, was rescued by the intervention of the Russians who were in *Trabzon* at the time. While narrating the acts of violence of the Anatolian Greek people as a component of the national struggle, the terror created by the Greek guerilla forces, neither the Muslim people who had been driven away from their hometowns nor from their homes were ever mentioned. The Revolution of October 1917 overturned all the balance in the region. Since Pontian people had developed their struggle by Russian support, they now had lost all their hopes. After the October Revolution, the committees under the name of the Soviet Delegation were established in the occupied cities. These committees were composed of military officers of higher rank, whose authorities were limited, and of workers. The metropolitan Chrisanthos was a member of the *Trabzon* Soviet Delegate as well:

In the hardest years of the First World War, the National Unity of Youth in *Trabzon* provided the organization of social support. On August 11, 1917, the Russian army moved from *Trabzon*, under the administration of the Soviet soldiers and entered *Ordu*, which was under the control of the Ottoman army. It began to bomb the city. Upon this bombing, the Anatolian Greek people of Kolorita (*Ordu*) began to rush towards the Russian boats so that they could be saved from the unbearable cruelty of the Unionists and of the guerilla forces (Andreadis, 1999b: 48).

After the Russian Bolshevik revolution, the co-operation and the solidarity between the Russians and the Pontian people came to an end. According to the author, the retreat of the Russians from the Eastern Black Sea in February 1918 results in a

catastrophe for the Pontians there. At the same time, in February 1918, the Russian army delivered *Trabzon* to the Ottomans. On October 17, 1918 the resistance in the Western Black Sea Region was crushed. By announcing a “firman”, the Sultan declared a general amnesty including the Pontian region (Andreadis, 1999b: 52). Again, it was the Russians who helped to the Pontian people who want to escape from the experienced destruction. According to the author:

Remembering the traditions of the Russian people, the Bolsheviks, who were titled as the ‘atheist persons’, brought their boats down to the sea in order to save the lives of the Christian people of Ordu, and they accepted almost 3000 persons into their ships to save their lives and they brought them to the city of Trabzon. That was exactly the opposite of what the ‘Christian Western Forces’ did with their huge and imposing naval forces did in the August of the year 1922, during the Izmir conflagration and the massacre. A committee composed of the metropolitan members together with the members of the Committee of the Young National Association met them there. They put their brothers and sisters from Ordu together and organized them within three hours. They placed some of them in some schools located in Trabzon and some others were put in Moni Theoskepastu (The Red Monastery). They sheltered the remaining ones in the houses of the families living in Trabzon, who accepted them as their own relatives (1999b: 49-50).

Andreadis believes that the German influence as well as with the policies applied by the Union and Progress account for all these problems. According to the author, the German advisors gave their recommendations to the Turks about how to create a powerful and united nation by eliminating the minorities in this period, during when the political liberties were gaining strength. Such a method, on the other hand, could not be applied without spilling blood. It is not a possible thing to achieve Turkish national unity without eliminating the existing hindrances, which means without destructing the Christians. On the contrary, the movement of the Young Turks, which began in the Eleftheria (the freedom) Square in Salonika, was founded on the basis of the liberal and humanly value judgments. Later on the movement of the Young Turks, “turned into a nationalist, fascist Turkish movement in a short period of time. The slogan of the Young Turks was not ‘the Equality, the Liberty and the Fraternity’ anymore, but it turned into the slogan of ‘Turkey belongs to the Turkish people’ from now on. That was the only slogan, which was heart in the year of 1916” (Andreadis: 1997: 59).

The fights continued until the great population exchange. The author touches upon these events on the basis of the memoir of Prodromou, the local priest of the *Amasya* region (Andreadis, 1999b: 66). Vasil the Bastard and the Sokrat the

Crazy, whose names were mentioned in the fifth chapter under the sub-section Mustafa Kemal, are the leaders of the regions of *Amasya* and of *Ladik*, respectively. Illiadi, the priest, says that deserters constituted the great majority of the resisting people. Actually, “these free groups were not organized for a guerilla battle, on the contrary, for a simple cause. Without being dependent on anywhere, ..., they were spontaneously organized only for the sake of making resisters’ survivals possible” (Andreadis, 1999b: 67).

The author, who emphasizes his Pontian identity and the cruel acts they have been subject to, never mentions the Pontian people’s turning their backs on the society in which they had been living in for many years, or about the guerilla forces, which they had established. Nor does he mention the massacres performed by the Pontians. In a biased tone, he only mentions the cruelty shown to the Pontian people. In fact, who is responsible for the conflict is both the Turks as their enemies and Europe as their guarantors. Despite this, the author softens his style to some extent in his work titled as *Tamama*. In the work, which is based on a true biographical life story, the aunt says that, “we aimed to present individuals who were able to protect their humanly characteristics to all humanity” in spite of the ongoing war (1997:109). The conditions of the war brought about cruelty: “There is no such thing as a beautiful or fair war. All the wars are cruel, they make the ones, who are participating in it, ugly, whoever lies behind it” (1997: 109). While the war in Pontus had not only the religious and national but also racial characteristics, according to the author, “it was actually performed against human beings of Pontians’ own race, too” (109).

## **6.2.1. The Analogies**

### **6.2.1.1. Our Own Lands**

Claiming that they are the first human community who began to live on the Black Sea Coast, the Pontian people call this region as “our lands”. However, the archeological discoveries and the studies in the history discipline do not verify such claim.

Andreadis narrates the periods of the Ancient Times and the Christianity in addition to the period of the Komnenos Empire consecutively in order to draw the historical picture of Pontus (1999:21). Accordingly, under the leadership of Athinoklea, coming from Athens, new colonizers took power in *Samsun* in the year of 444 B.C. and they gave the name of "Pirea" to the city. The city was known with this name throughout the Athenian rule. When the dominance of the people of Athens ends, the city takes the name of Amison (*Samsun*) again. Although the great majority of people (Paflagons, original settlers) were Hellenized, they protected the ancient name of their hometown, which is scraped in their memories (1999b: 18).

However, Nakracas could not find any discoveries belonging to earlier periods than 600 B.C. during the archeological studies he conducted in the region. The Greek city colonies were established after that date. Later on, the Meds, who have Iranian origins, settled down in the region. The ethnical structure of the region during the Persian period does not be known, either. Except for the cities dominated by the Greek component, the population of the region living in the provinces had Iranian origins but both the Persian and Hittitien characteristics belonging to the earlier periods were being protected. Besides, the first independent Pontian state was established in the year of 280 B.C and. it accepted the domination of the Roman Empire in 63 B.C. After the sovereignty of the Byzantine Empire, it was taken under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire (2003:187-189). These explanations reveal that there cannot be a pure Pontian component whose ethnic origin was not distorted. Following a primordialist approach, the author of these literary works gives explanations based on race. Supported by the ideal of a nation, living in the same territory for thousands of years, the author, Andreadis imagining an ethnic identity of Pontian Greeks with reference to Anderson's (1990) theory on imagined nationalism.

The Turkish government changed the names of the units of settlement. The names of many cities and of many villages were turkicized by changing their names. According to the author, only in the Black Sea region, the names of the cities of *Trabzon*, *Sinop*, *Giresun* and *Rize* were not changed. Only, the names of some cities have been phonetically changed, following the Turkish accent now. The author explains the cause of this as "[a] great majority of the people is constituted

by the Turkicized people who have Pontian origins, if not all of them. And these antique names were consciously internalized, sanctified and officialized” (1999b: 18).

The reason behind these detailed information on history of the lands and the original names of the settlement centers is to show whom the real owner of these lands. These historical explanations aim to show that the Pontians are the original owner of the lands without any disputes. According to Smith, the land where culture, historical roots and image of a hometown shared by an ethnic group have been developed is the most significant factor providing the transition from an ethnic identity to collective identity (Smith, 1999c: 33). A character of *Tolika*, Kirya Sofia, says that she does not know when she came to Yizigöl where her ancestors were born. “Her ancestors settled down in this village from time immemorial. At least, as long as they can remember, it was known as it is” (1999b: 19-20). The Pontians were living in peace with Muslims starting from 1700s onwards in Krumni, the territory where *Those Who Have Secret Religion* takes place. After 1700s, the Christian families came to the region in order to work in mines, and the number of Christians increased (1999a: 11). Coming to years of 1914s, the cathedral of *Amasya* mentions that in *Amasya* and in *Bafra*, “in the territory covered by these two cities, there were totally 12 Christian cities and 394 Christian villages, where 205, 230 Christian citizens were living, together with the 4 metropolitans (the cathedrals)” (1999b: 30). On May 9, 1919 the Greek Metropolitan of *Trabzon*, Chrysanthos sent a letter to the British delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference. In the letter it was stated, “there were more Greeks in Pontus than there were ‘real Turks’”. In order to prove his argument, he submitted an official Ottoman source, “Saalnameh” that indicates “for the year 1908, returned the Greek population at 500,000 for the Vilayet of Trebizonde alone” (McCarthy, 1980: 71). This piece of information and statistics were reported to explain why for Pontian people are the real owners of the land.

Even though Andreadis asserts that the Muslim and the non-Muslim communities were living in peace, this was out of necessity. Turkish people were often the subject matter of fearsome ghost stories. According to the author’s grandmother, the most widespread ghost stories were those of the Ottomans who died before

paying their loans. She says that the screams of some dead Turks were heard during the night. The Turks who hear the voices of the dead people were paying the loans of their relatives since they were scared. The Turkish people go “to the Muslim graveyard for a short religious ceremony, by taking a Christian priest with himself or herself” (1999:55). Another image similar with the image of the Turks rising from the grave and haunting people is the image of the Vampire Turks; which is developed in the Balkan Peninsula. It is stated that Turkish soldiers were vampires in the rebellions of the Albanian and the Greek peoples, during the last periods of the Ottoman Empire. Kreuter explains this by claiming that it combines the xenophobic approach with the anti-Turkish origins together with the belief in the vampires (June 2002).

#### **6.2.1.2. The Giaour**

As explained before, the word of giaour (*gavur*) is used to describe the non-Muslim subjects. The theoretical and semantic knowledge provided in the chapter of the Armenian identity would not be repeated here. The repetition of the same word in the works considering the Pontian Greeks reveals that there is continuity in the giaour discourse. Also, it shows that the word is used for describing all the non-Muslims as a whole without any reference to a specific ethnic group.

As it discussed above, the settlement of the migrants coming from the Macedonia region created severe problems. Other than that, the tragic condition of their brothers and sisters who share the common religion incited the nationalist feelings of the Turkish people. Accompanied by the zaptieh forces, the migrants were placed in the empty houses they found in the region. Coming to the village, where the family lives *Tamama*, the zaptieh man tells to the village priest showing the papers he holds in his hand that, “your people drove our people away from their places and hometowns, pillaged their property and wealth, the living ones migrated to our side in worn-out pieces of clothes as migrants”. Showing three empty houses in their neighborhoods, he wants the keys of these houses (1997: 40). Refusing to give the keys, the priest mentions that the houses were entrusted to his safekeeping, adding that, despite the religious difference, they could treat them as guests with respect if he wished (41). When the priest leaves the territory,

the zaptieh says:

Do you see the giaour? All of these are snakes that we nurture in our vineyards. The country would not reach peace before we get rid of them. This country is the hometown of the Turkish people. How can the unbelievers killed our people and force from their places and hometowns, we will do just as they have done. We would not sit and ask their opinion; we would not want their permission to place our people into the empty houses of the deserters who do not want to perform their military service. The hometown belongs to the Turkish people" (42).

As a reply of this zaptieh man is speaking harsh words representing the state, Ibrahim, who represents local Turkish people suggests constructing new houses instead of occupying the entrusted houses by saying that they had been living in brotherhood, in peace without spilling blood in *Espiye* for long years. He mentions that the migrants would be guests in his own house (1997:43). Nevertheless, the peaceful circumstances change in time and the people of *Espiye* also begins to talk about their fellow countrymen as giaours. The image of the enemy was constructed from now on. Topal Osman and his men come to *Espiye* and threaten İsmail, who represents the well-behaving Turk saying: "If you keep being friends with the giaours, we would set your house to fire, we would burn all the houses of everyone who tries to defy or to try to bother our migrants. The hometown belongs to the Turkish people" (1997:49). As we have seen in the image of the enemy, the negative anticipation and the de-individualization are at stake here. This means that, the enemy is always destructive and the issue is perceived as the "anyone who belongs to a given group is automatically our enemy" (Spillman & Spillman, 1991: 57 –58). Using the expression of the giaour sharpened the performance of the "otherization", which is based on the image of enemy. The one who is the giaour is not Muslim and is our enemy.

### **6.3. The Greek Identity: "İstanbul is ours! Ours! Ours! Zitooooo"\***

We will examine the events emphasizing the ethnic identities of Anatolian Greeks<sup>30</sup> who live at the shores of the Aegean region, in the Islands, and in

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\* Yordanidu, 1943: 43.

<sup>30</sup> The word *Rum* (Anatolian Greek) had passed into Turkish from the Arabic language. Since the XVI<sup>th</sup> century, the Europeans had called the empire of Eastern Rome as Bizantium. The word "Rum", which was used in the meaning of "Roman" for centuries, was used to define the Bizantium and the Anatolia. At the time of Seljuks, the word "Rum" began to be used widely. While the "Rum" was used to define the Anatolia at that

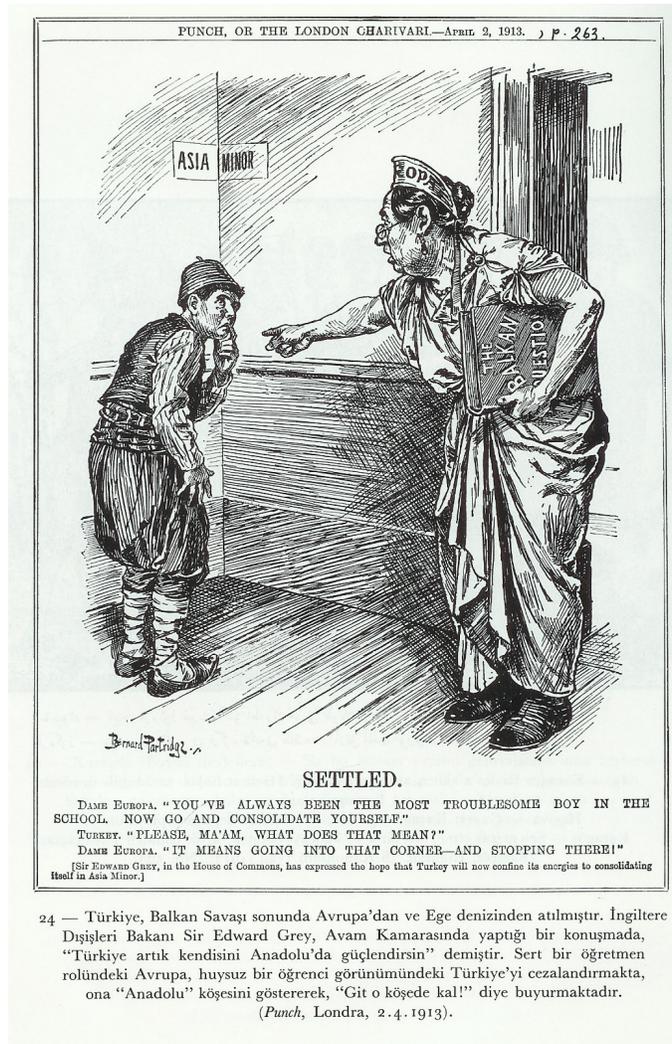
*İstanbul* within the context of the works of Manglis's *The Sons of Agha from the Islands to Bodrum*, of Satiriou's *Farewell Anatolia*, of Iordanidu's *Our Courtyard*, of Prevelakis' *Story of a Town in Crete*.

The character of Satiriou's work, Manuli, lives in the *Kırkıca* village together with his 4 elder brothers, elder sister, and parents. The family makes a living by growing dry grape, fig, and tobacco. In the village, there are some shops, coffeehouses, two churches, three schools and the only Turkish building, the office of Zaptieh. Until the year 1914, there was a peaceful environment in the village, not even a single murder was committed. There were the Ephesus remnants near the village: "our village, *Kırkıca*, was known as Ephesus at Mountain, and this is supposed to show that we have a long history!" (16). Manuli learns this piece of information from a teacher from Samos. When the tourists come to visit the remnants all the people of *Kırkıca* are flattered. "Our home village is a village not resembling any others, yes very different village! ' Priest told us ... that its time is approaching. The stoned king will resurrect once again...' And a desire to see that our lowland, our mountains unifies with Greece arouses in all of us". Satiriou, here, makes a reference to *Megalo Idea*. The foundations of the Great Ideal were laid down after the loss of *İstanbul* in 1453. At the beginning, the Anatolian Greeks denied this loss, and engaged in efforts to regain *İstanbul* within a few years. This desire became the subject matter of the songs. According to Volkan and Itzkowitz, the Great Ideal (*Megalo Idea*) had become an ideology in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Great Ideal is "a Greek doctrine which assumes to possess all of the lands belonging to the Ancient Greece and Byzantine Hellenism in the name of reborn nation" (2002: 56). These doctrines belonging to the Byzantine and Hellenistic periods formed the foundations of Greek nationalism. The idea of

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period, the Balkan Peninsula had been called as the *Rum-ili* (the place of Rum) in the Ottoman era (Ercan, 2001: 76). According to the author, the Greeks mostly lived at the Mora peninsula, at Teselya and at the Aegean Islands. The distinction among the old Byzantines, the indigenous people of Anatolia, and the Aegean Greeks was made in this period. Rum in medieval Muslim usage, referred to Romans (Romei) or Byzantines. Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians, Vlachs, Bosnians and inhabitants of southern Albania were included in "Rums". The Ottoman government was not cognizant of religious or nationalist differences so that all these nations accepted as the *Millet-i Rum*. However, in general, the term more or less denotes to Greeks. Since Greeks controlled the millet over Ecumenical Patriarchate and Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy ... (Sonyel, 1993: 24). British Foreign Office prepared a report on Anatolia in 1920. According to this report, there are two types among Anatolian Greeks, depending on their origin. The Old Anatolian type "descended from the Hellenised Christian population, which Turks found in Anatolia on their entry into the country". The other type of Greek in Europe and Aegean Islands, "from which there has been continuous immigration throughout history" (Document 59, 1920: 34).

Megalo Idea has constituted the meta-identity of the Anatolian Greeks. When the independent Greece state was established, the greatest support came from the *Millet-i Rum*. The emergence of the independent Greek state in 1830 caused the eventual demise of *Millet-i Rum*. For Clogg, “some three –quarters of a million of the ... two million Greeks under Ottoman rule were contained within the frontiers of new Greece, and ... the first century of its independent existence the entire ... the Greek state was the redemption of the “unredeemed” Greeks of the Ottoman Empire” (Clogg, 1982: 193). The Kingdom of Greece, which was actually a small kingdom, had entered into process of becoming a nation-state through the *Millet-i Rum*.



Manglis, in his work, narrates the hand over of Twelve Islands from Turks to Italians. The Greeks living on these Islands supposed that Italians would take the Islands from Turks and would give them back to Greece, and that they would be independent. On the contrary, the Italian domination was established on the Island. The events began with a telegraph sent by the Italians to the Turkish side. Italy demands Tripoli and Kirinaki from the Ottoman state. Manglis says that Turkey “was an empire whose heart

Figure 12. Asia Minor

got tired of the sins it had committed. Not drown in its own blood yet. (...) since she had pride, she gave a negative answer to the Italian demands". Following this answer, Italy suddenly declares a war (Manglis, 1998: 293). Italy, who had formed its national unity in the 1870s, attacked Tripoli in 1911. As the prolonging Libyan war had shaken their desired image of great state, they turned toward the Aegean Sea to trouble Turkey from another side. In 1912, they conquer the south Sporadic Islands composed of fourteen islands, and the Twelve Islands as commonly known. However, this situation was not in line with the regional interest of the great states like England. A strong rival located at east of the Malta, the base of the English naval fleet, would cause trouble for the English east trade. Since Italy informed that they invaded the islands to force the Turks for signing a peace accord, and that then they would give back them to Turkey, England did not rise her voice against it. However, they frequently warned Italy to evade the islands (Şimşir, 1982: XII). This situation is described quite well in *Figure 12* quoted from Şimşir.

On April 16, 1912 Italy began to disembark her forces into the Twelve Islands. The Greeks living in the islands had been waiting eagerly for the Italians, so they enthusiastically "welcomed the crusaders who came to push out the crescent and rusted (*Turkish flag*), the barbarians (*the Turks*). The Turks surrendered after two days". The Greeks, who expected that the Italians would hand over the islands to Greece, celebrated the defeat of Turks with a great festival. The words of an Italian general, Amelio, made the islanders even more hopeful. In an official statement, the general stated the following: "Italy conducts this warfare for a legitimate purpose and civilisation. ... I assure you that when the Turkish-Italian battle comes to an end, the islands appropriated by the Italians would gain their own autonomous administration. ... I am talking you both as a general and Christian, be trust my words as you do the words of Bible". Manglis says that all the time cheating had been repeated once again. Talking as a Christian, and promising by the Bible, are the common statements used by the Christian invader to trick the local people. The Greeks, who thought that the Italians would leave the administration of the island to them, formed their own police force and imprisoned some Turks. However, the Italians, rather than leaving the administration to the islanders, arrest all the Greek civil administrators. They raised the Italian flag in

place of the Turkish one on the Administrative Townhouse. This meant the Rhodes belonged to the Italians (Manglis, 1998: 295).

On October 18, 1912 Turkey desiring to regain the islands signed a peace treaty with Italians in Ouchy. According to the second article of the treaty, the Ottoman state would withdraw from Tripoli and Bingazi, and Italy; from the islands in return. However, before this treaty was ratified, the Balkan War began. Italy, saying that the Greeks would invade the islands, did not withdraw its forces from the islands (Şimşir, 1982: XIII). After the invasion of Albania by the Greek forces, England and France demanded the evacuation of the Albanian land in return for leaving the islands to the Greeks. This complex situation regarding the control of the islands extended over time and continued until the second Balkan war. Italy did not withdraw from the islands; moreover she put new conditions for that. At the exchange of the islands, she demanded privileges for the construction of the ports, and the railways and for the operation of the mines in Antalya region and demanded the power in regions as well. This situation conflicted with the English interests once again. At the London Conference held at the end of the second Balkan war, Crete was left for the Greeks. England demands the giving over all the islands except *Bozcaada* (the ancient Tenedos) and *Gökçeada* (formerly known as *İmroz*) to the Greeks. This demand was realised in 1914 (Şimşir, 1982: XXII - XXXII).

When it became clear that the First World War would end with the defeat of Italy, the prominent figures of the islanders prepared a memorandum to be submitted to the Italian commandership. In this memorandum, the islanders' desire to unify with the homeland Greece for centuries was explained. Since it was expected that the Italians would not welcome this situation, the formation of so-called "the Autonomous Aegean State" was announced. The people who believed in the establishment of an autonomous state made celebrations in the streets with a great enjoyment on June 1, 1917. In response, the Italians arrested the representatives of the islanders and the prominent figures, and then sent them to Rhodes by ships. According to the author, they were tortured in the basements of Rhodes left from the Middle Age (Manglis, 1998: 296). This chain of events has similarities with the idea of establishing an independent Pontian state by the

Russian support. The greatest longing of the Pontian people was to unify with the homeland Greece, however this wouldn't be realized due to physical distance. Hence, they decided to establish a state that was seemingly independent, but de facto affiliated to Greece in reality. Similarly, the people living in the Aegean islands announced an Autonomous Aegean State as they thought that their desire to unify with Greece would not be welcomed by the Italians.

While the Anatolian Greeks supposed that they would gain their independence, they ended up in the captivity of the Italians. With the Italian invasion, they lost their previous autonomy, too. Ercan states that the Aegean Islands have been conquered one by one since the period of Murad I. During the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmet, the significant Aegean islands Limni (1456) and Mitilini (*Midilli*) (1462) were captured. Rhodes (1522), Moden and Koron; *Sakız* (the ancient Chios) and other small islands (Kiklad islands, 1566) were captured during the reign Beyazid II and that of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, respectively. Crete could only be captured after a series of long-lasting wars (1645-1669). At that time, the Greek region and the islands were taken under the Ottoman control (2001: 81). When the Turks captured the Twelve Islands during the reign of the Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, they granted the islanders special privileges. With the awakening of the Greek nationalism, the Turks decided to withdraw these privileges and to besiege the island in 1869. The Greeks would accept the Ottoman kaimakam appointed to the island (Manglis, 1998: 14). Within these privileges, the Anatolian Greeks could maintain their own identity without having to go through assimilation process.

Satiriou, in his work of *Farewell Anatolia* (45-46), narrates the story of an Anatolian Greek living around *İzmir*. The rebellions had already started in Greece. Their purpose was to gain the liberty and to maintain an order. This situation is interpreted in the work as follows: "a liberty in homeland, ... with the help of Allah, here means a captivity for us". In other words, a rebellion started against the Ottomans in Greece came back as a repression for the Greek society living in Anatolia. The Young Turks who wanted to form a national unity abandoned the *millet* system and changed the status of non-Muslims. This application had created two essential problems. Firstly, the concept of the Turkish nation gained a

priority. Hastaoğlu states that the views, proclaiming that Anatolia had been the homeland of the Turks since the ancient times, emerged in this period, and that these views had been announced as “an official historical dogma” in the Kemalist era. The question of how the minorities would have their education arose after the *millet* system had been abandoned (Hastaoğlu, 1999: 56-57). In 1909, Ahmet Şerif prepared a report on the education for the Union and Progress. “The children of this country (*vatan*) do not learn the names of continents and countries in geography, ... I do not find that right because these respected citizens of ours know Turkish as well as we do”. For Ahmet Şerif, the only formula for the party was a common education for all Ottomans. This issue led to a big discussion on communal privileges of non-Muslims (Ahmad, 1982: 414). The policies of Ottomanism turned Turkism as time passed, meanwhile, the policies and decisions, based on Turkism, removed gradually the cultural autonomies of the non-Muslims, and they were taken under the control by the state (Hastaoğlu, 1999: 57).<sup>31</sup>

Compared to Satiriou, Manglis sees the Young Turks movement more positively. For Manglis, the political situation of the Turks at the beginning of the 1900s resembles the one that the Greeks had 70-80 years before. The Young Turks movement, as opposed to the Absolutism, wanted to restrict the authorities of the Sultan, and to prevent the corrosion and the bribe experienced in Turkey. The author states that this would not be possible: “They suppose that. However, the God's will is known, its last hours is approaching” (Manglis, 1998: 146). The character of the work, Nicholas, together with the priest, assesses the impact of this movement that demands “liberty, justice, equality” on the Greek society living in the Ottoman land. What Nicholas expected from these new developments is “such freedom that would be controlled, that would guarantee the privileges and interests of the landlords”. The priest, who shares his opinions, says that the freedom is such a frightening thing, and that he does not know how it will end. On the contrary, he says, “the Sultans never troubled us, the clergy, or the Holy Patriarchate. They never appropriated the rights and properties of the Church.

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<sup>31</sup> At the 1916 Congress of the Union and Progress, the schools that had been affiliated to the Ministry of Foundation until that time were attached to the Ministry of Education, and hence unity of education was formed (Toprak, 1986: 15-16).

Although they sometimes swerved, they did not do this willingly, they did this since the conditions necessitated to satisfy the peoples, to move the state away from the troublesome situation” (Manglis, 146-147). The Byzantine Orthodox Church, which was in ruins in the 12th and 13th centuries, was dependent on the state. Therefore, any reaction directed against the state would also be considered to be directed against the church. When the Ottomans captured *İstanbul*, they established a new religious and state regime in Anatolia and the Balkans. The most benefiting party of this new situation was the Orthodox Church. The Ottomans saved the Orthodox Church from destruction by giving autonomy, i.e., as mentioned above, previously the church was quite active in Byzantine administration, the Ottomans brought to end administrative function of the church by separating it from the state affairs. In addition the Ottomans also provided the church with the status of international (ecumenical) patriarchate. The church, the *İstanbul* Church which gained an autonomous status independent of the state, became dominant over all others. Later on, the Ottomans made all the Orthodox Christians who were taken under her own sovereignty affiliated to the ecumenical patriarchate without considering their tribal differences (Berkes, 2002: 9-12). The leader of the Rum millet who was also the religious and societal leader of that millet behaved like a theocratic leader. This situation had played a significant role in the empowerment of the Greek nationalism and in the establishment of the independent Greece in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

After the Greek independence struggle, the Balkan War started in 1912. According to Satiriou, the Young Turks sent delegates to protect the land unity by propagandizing a discourse of the national unity in Anatolia. “Dervishes, refugees” organized by the Young Turks, “started to wander around and to provoke the people against us”. The author states that the Macedonian refugees were provoked by the Young Turks against themselves. Whereas, it cannot be expected that the refugees, who thought that they were unjustly dispatched from the lands they were living, would have a positive approach against the non-Muslims. The author never mentions that these people coming from Macedonia were banished from the lands that they were living by the Christian society, and that they were also treated very cruelly. On the other hand, the exiles of the Western Pontian people to Sivas and the losses they experienced on the way

were quoted in detail. All the materials that can be used to show the Turks as an enemy, to otherize them were benefited.

The Tripoli and Balkan wars affected the Ottoman intelligentsia very deeply. The Rumelia where the Union and Progress declared the Revolution was not the part of the Ottoman land anymore. The following words expressed in the journal titled as *Servet-i Fünun* are important to understand the reactions felt: “Why have we lost Greece and Crete? Was it merely because of the faults of a corrupted will? Or because we could not agitate this people once again? What did we do to assimilate the Aegean islands populated entirely by the Anatolian Greeks for the Ottomanness?” (Hastaoğlu, 1999: 62). There was Macedonia, which was freed from the romantic nationalism tendencies, conducting underground revolutionary activities, performing warfare, and trying to be independent. This situation resulted in a change in the party ideology of the Union and Progress. Gökalp states that “the principle of national conscience and consciousness which was the only and the first principle for the development of the Turks” were indispensable. To strip the Turks who were in Ottoman state in a very scattered condition out of the complex structure of the Ottomans, and “to make them a new (national) society which retrieve 'A New Life' became the new functionality of the Union and Progress”. The Balkan wars were early warnings that would revive “national ideal”. “The Turkism nationalized by the nationalist Balkans” has been in power from now on. Turkism became the source of both the “national consciousness” encompassing “the national hostility, national solidarity and affection” and the expansionist “Turanist views”. As it became necessary to break away from the boundless lands of the *ümmet* (the Community of faithful in Islam), and to form a homogenous society, the ideology of Red Apple had been constituted (Tunaya, 1989: 464).

Two brothers of Manuli, the character of Satiriou’s work, were conscripted by the Turks when the First World War began. One of them escapes to Greece and joins the Greek army. His father comments that “he made such a holy thing!” The brother who joined the Greek army is shown as an example by the whole village. In the same period, “while the liberation desire of the raya has revived after having sleep for centuries, the Young Turks movements have also developed”. The

action taken once for Crete was now implemented for Macedonia: "Our Macedonia!" This situation interested both the Turks and the raya. The Young Turks could not get any response to their efforts to awaken the Muslim people. According to Satiriou, it was necessary to jostle the people, and this duty implied "the unjustly treatment and even the massacre of the Christians" (Satiriou, 45-46).

The family that Manglis narrates in his work lost all its wealth in 1915 due to historical developments. As was the case in the Pontian works, the German effect was responsible for this situation. In all the works of the Anatolian Greeks, it is claimed that neither Turks nor the Anatolian Greeks were the guilty side of the state of affairs, that the only guilty party was the imperialist Germans. According to the author, "the sister (of the German emperor) who took the complete command of the Greek King Konstantin" and the wrong decisions of "the Queen Sofia who was the secret agent of the Germans" led to the defeat of the Greece. This situation resulted in the catastrophe of the Greek army and the extirpation of the Anatolian Greek presence in the Asia Minor (Manglis, 1998: 234). What Manglis refers here is the Russian and French support for the idea of Megalo Idea that started in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. At that period, the idea that the Ottomans was dominant and accordingly her natural successor would be the Anatolian Greeks. While the Russian Tsarina Katerina supported a Byzantian Empire that would be the Russian satellite, the Napoleon Bonapart wanted to establish a Helen Empire that would be the satellite of France. On the other hand, the English side opposed to either of these views pragmatically, and advocated that they would politically dominate an independent Greek state quite easily (Berkes, 2002: 21).

Like Manglis, Satiriou also mentions the effect of the imperialist Germany. For her:

The sole responsible ones were not the Turks: it was necessary to vanish the Christian people who held the wealth of Anatolia; because they were hindering the extension and development of the Germans at first, and of capitalists of the Entante Powers later on.... The foreign monopolies that prepare the most sordid plans to secure their own economic predominance desired to capture the Baghdad-*İzmir* railway line which passes along the Middle Eastern oil regions and rich regions of the Asia Minor resembling the fairy tales" (Satiriou, 109-110).

Afterwards, Manuli, who found a job at the workplace of Homero Şeytanoğlu, talked with the boss' coachman, Yakuni. He told him that his boss was a very rich man and made his business by bribing:

They corrupt the officers with money to make them condone their outrages. ... The Pasha caresses his banknotes of 5, zaptieh his coins, and what is left for Turkey is to sleep very, very deeply my son. ... Have nice dreams, a poor country! ... Our real enemy is the Levantines; and also the European leeches that suck the blood of Turkey at its source. ... From such distant places, they came and settled on our chest, then adhered and bitten rather easily. ... Louses, they are louses, God damn it! And you will see, the catastrophe will not come from the Turks on us, from us on them. ...” (Satiriou, 44-45).

The longing of the Ottoman Anatolian Greek subjects for their homeland would end by the great population exchange. However, they would later miss their old home, Anatolia. Iordanidu tells that one of his neighbors in the apartment reminds her the days of *İstanbul*. Once the old lady visits that family, she meets visitors coming from *İstanbul*. Her yearning for *İstanbul* turns into a feeling of pity for the Anatolian Greeks living there as she listens to the sayings of the visitors. According to what is told, the remaining Anatolian Greeks have difficulty in getting permission to go abroad, they are able to travel abroad once in four years. Their life in *İstanbul* has become like a torture. The neighborhood known as *Tatavla* is now called *Kurtuluş*. The visitors send a book to Iordanidu about the roots of the Anatolian Greeks living in *Tatavla*. According to book, Georgios Kamaradu's work *Ta Ellinika Tatavla* (*Tatavla* of the Anatolian Greeks), *Tatavla* had the Anatolian Greek history of 390 years old until the terrible events of 1955 (Iordanidu, 1997: 75). The Turks now destroy this deep-rooted Anatolian Greek history. After the events of 6-7 September, the editor of the Eleftheri Foni newspaper published in *İstanbul* interprets the situation as follows:

It looks like a faith for our race to get injured once in each 10 or 15 years. 1921-1922 ... and the Second World War. Besides, the terrible 'varliki' ... September 6, comes and within 3 hours –from 20 to 23 pm.– destroys all our labor of the 14 years. Once again, being an Anatolian Greek has beaten down with such a grim injuries. ... We are tired seeing that what we built yesterday are torn down today. We demand our security. (...) No one can take our MINIMAL privilege away” (Andrianopolu, 2003: 154).

### 6.3.1. The Analogies

In this section, like we did in other headlines of analogies, we will emphasize the metaphors that are made by the Turks regarding the non-Muslims in the works we studied on.

#### 6.3.1.1. The Cruel Giaour

The word *giaour* and the analogy of snake regarding the Armenian and Pontian identities have been repeated in the works of Anatolian Greeks. The Turks characterize the Anatolian Greeks as *giaour*, and the Anatolian Greeks characterize the Turks as damned and cruel.

Manuli who was in the Workers Regiments during the First World War could not comply with the severe conditions in the deserts and returned his village. However, there was no peace in his village because of the First World War. While there had been 8 gendarmes in the village previously, now there were 40 gendarmes. Moreover, the military police and zaptieh police were separate. The Turkish villagers did not help the ones who deserted and walked through the mountains. "They taught the Turkish villagers to hate us too. ... The müezzin and the refugees sent away from Greece were working hastily to teach that the *giaours* were nothing but the poisonous snakes and that the ones who hid them would face a disaster. ... It was necessary to extirpate these unbelievers as quickly as possible. That is the order of *Allah*". The friendship has ended; the Anatolian Greeks have become *giaours* and snakes. Another danger the deserters faced was originated from the Turkish deserters. The state decided to forgive the Turkish deserters who would kill the Christian ones. They were ready to kill anybody for one cigarette or a piece of bread at the time of such a scarcity (Satiriou, 63).

In case of conflict, treating the others who are outside of the group very intolerantly can be explained by the definition of ethnic group according to Weber. An ethnic group is a "people" that holds "a subjective belief in their common

descent". Group identity is accepted as presumed, which "means that it is "artificially" or "accidentally" associated with a set of characteristics such as physical appearance, customs, common memories, language and religion". "Almost any kind of similarity or contrast of physical type and of habits ... can induce the belief that affinity or disaffinity exists between groups that attract or repel each other." (Quoted in Little).<sup>32</sup> Therefore, the ones who stay outside of the affinity group can be otherized during the conflict process, and hence they can become enemy.

In the Satiriou's work, Manuli had been sent to *Izmir* to learn trade by his father. When the season ended, Manuli became unemployed, and then worked in different places like cookie-maker, bakery, pub and tannery. Thereafter, he found a job in the workplace of the smuggler Yanakos with a good salary. The Turks called the Yanakos "Cruel dog", because he killed many Turks. Yanakos "did not offend any Christian in any way... (...) And every time he kills a Turk, he goes to Aya Vasil and lights a very big candlestick, kneels down and prays. He says that ... God, these damned people (*Turks*) are not fed up with committing a sin at all. Rant and rave at their head, eat their hearts out" (39). For Yanakos who hates the Turks, smuggling is a part of patriotism. He helps unjustly treated Christian escape to the English island, Samos, Mitilini, or Twelve Islands. Yanakos, who collects great amount of money from the rich, helps the poor escape abroad without taking any money (39). Yanakos defines the Turks as damned ones. This is a good example of the case in which a group living in a conflict defines a person who is not a member of the group as a "out-group" person. Because the conflicts between disputants, as it is between Turks and Greeks, usually cause people to view others outside of their own group as less good, or in the case of the opposing group, really bad. The term enemy also refers to the same thing. Therefore, the disputants can see the enemy as selfish, deceitful, hostile, and even evil in character. Then, whenever these groups are engaged in a conflict, "people will normally "project" their own negative traits on the other side, ignoring their own shortcomings or misdeeds, while emphasising the same in the other" (Little). The extreme form of this tendency is de-humanisation that makes it

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<sup>32</sup> <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/problem/outgrp.htm>

easier for them to enter into the war. Otherwise, it would psychologically become very difficult to kill people who belonged the other side.

### 6.3.1.2. The Slavery

The Anatolian Greeks, who have the status of an obligated people, *dhimni* (*zımnı*), considers it as an equivalent of the slavery. Although they are free within their own community as being *Millet-i Rum*, they come after the Turks regarding the Ottoman millet hierarchy. According to the fiscal laws, the Muslims (*Dar-ı İslam* /The Land of Islam) pay the lowest, and the *harbis* (the people living in the land of *Dar-ı Harb* /The Land of War or the land under the domination of unbelievers) pays the highest taxes (Lewis, 1988: 326). Having many privileges, the Anatolian Greek millet has also autonomy in many subjects like marriage, divorce, testament, the repairing and construction of churches and schools, punishments made by the church regarding its own clergy (Anađnostopulu, 1999: 11-12).

Although there are not any Turks left in *Kırkıca*, the Anatolian Greeks talks among themselves in Turkish, and their yearning and affection for Greece “burns like a flame that would never go out”. Being a second class subject dependent on the Ottomans is considered as slavery by the Anatolian Greek community. The image of slavery is compensated by the image of clever and laborious Anatolian Greek. The Turks living in the nearby villages see the Anatolian Greeks as laborious and clever persons. On the other hand, the Anatolian Greeks cheat the Turks in commodity trades, and so take the revenge of the slavery: “by kind words, a smiling face, and an appropriate 'baksheesh' whenever it is necessary makes them a sure thing. ... The Turks were coming to our bazaars rushing and surging in crowds”. In these bazaars, from wood to coal, from cream to cheese, “every thing that constitutes the richness of Anatolia” was sold out (Satiriou, 18).

When Manuli became literate, he was sent to *İzmir* by his father to work for raisin retailers. His father did not allow Manuli to continue his education. His father, who considered Manuli as the only canny child of the family, wanted his son to get used to the city market and learn the commercial transactions. Manuli arrived in *İzmir* in 1910 and walked through the port area: “The Anatolian Greek element put

its stamp on it, like every place in *İzmir*. Everyone is talking in Greek here: even the Turks, the Eastern people, the Jewish people, and Armenians..." (Satiriou, 32). While the author calls the Anatolian Greeks as slaves, he emphasises the dominance of the Anatolian Greek element in *İzmir* and the way that they look like the owner of the city. Manuli felt himself as he was in Greece.

The analogy of slavery made by Satiriou is repeated. Manuli starts to work in the Hacistavri's shop as a man dealing with scales in *İzmir*. Hacistavri always plays with oka (a weight of 1282 grams) and cheats the villagers who have come to sell him goods. When Manuli realises his trickery, he says the followings:

The man who deals with commerce should have a fresh and alert mind, if you don't have, you fall into dire straits! See, how canny our villagers are ... Let's see how you deceive an Anatolian villager, if you can! The slavery saves the man from the numbness, it makes him a cunning person. ... What is the point of a few okas when you think that the Turkish state robs me of everything I have got? Have you ever seen my partner, Selim Efendi? You have not, is not that true? You will possibly never see him in your lifetime. However, the same Selim Efendi comes here and takes apart the half of my earnings... " (36).

Manuli who knows how the villagers go on a severe trial is not persuaded (Satiriou, 37). However, the words of Hacistavri make sense. What makes them so cunning in the commerce is this status of slavery? Although there is no conflict in the common area of living in which the Turks and the Anatolian Greeks live, there exists a hidden rivalry. The Anatolian Greeks, since they are not independent, see themselves as slaves. In the work of Prevelakis, *The Story of a Town in Crete*, there is an anecdote of Greek King, which supports this. The Greek King, Yeorğios, has two sons. The elder son is a strong man and grinds down the younger one. The Greek King decides to demand help from the Sultan to solve this problem. He sets out on a journey. He eventually arrives at the *Dolmabahçe* Palace. He wants to see the Sultan to tell his trouble:

But, how! ... The permit should be provided by the Vizier, but neither Vizier, nor Vizier's clerk, nor the clerk's pipe-maker, nor the pipe-maker's apprentice, nor ... wants to listen him. The King of the Greeks, being bored by nothing he could do, goes to a public bath to get rid of louses. The woman keeper of that public bath feels pity for him, and since the women can succeed in doing everything, she helps him to send his regards to the Sultan by passing his message from the apprentice to the pipe-maker, from the pipe-maker to the clerk, from the clerk to the Vizier. The Sultan makes him to wait for a reply for a month, he allows him to sleep in his barns, to eat from the caldron that housemates eat. After all these, the Sultan accepts to listen to him in the presence of his caftan. The Sultan, sitting behind the

cage, hears the problems of this giaour. In short, his merciful heart feels a pity for him, and instead of putting ring on his nose, the Sultan gives him to the Crete as a gift so he could send his younger son there to save him from cruelty of his brother..." (Prevelakis, 1993: 25-27).

According to the author, the Turks get great pleasure from this story, and they listen to the story again and again enthusiastically. They are pleased with the disasters that the Christian king had to face and with his humiliation (Prevelakis, 1993: 25-27). All these stories produce the discourses of superior Turks and the "others", who are in need of assistance of superior Turks.

### **6.3.1.3. The Brotherhood**

Prevelakis in *Story of a Town in Crete*, quotes that the Turks captured Crete from Venetians three hundred years ago. The fights did not end after the Venetians left, the local people resisted against the Ottomans. The rebellion of the Anatolian Greeks with the support of the Russian Queen Katherina failed in 1770. However, the rebellions continued. As Prevelakis narrated: in 1821, Mora and Rumelia "shook themselves and got rid of the yoke of slavery. In 1866, the Arkadi Monastery was burnt, and then the seventy-eight, ninety-six rebellions followed, I am not writing about the other tumults that the history books do not mention". According to the author, despite all these rebellions, "the Turks have forgotten that they came here, these lands without receiving any invitation as time passed ... loved this land as it is their own homeland. I often hear the Cretan Turks say 'Kritika, ne ke mena ta skotia mu!' (even my livers are Cretan) to the Christians". The author states that the youngsters who have grown up after the rebellions have a good relationship with the Turks. He also adds "we do not see the Turks as enemies despite the provocative words of our elders who still carry the unhealed wounds of the war" (1997: 51). On the other hand, Prevelakis narrates the Turks living in Crete. Their clothes are not different from the Christians. They are even more clean and elegant. "You could only differentiate the Muslims and the Christians by looking at what they wore on their head. When they do not wear red fez, the Anatolian Greeks wore black (as they are still mourning for their captivity) scarves and the Turks wear the white ones" (1997: 17).

In *Farewell Anatolia*, Manuli has a fellow villager whose name is Şevket. Their relationship depends on mutual trust. The village in which his friends live is in the remote like all other Turkish villages, “poor things, they do not know what is a doctor, or a teacher”. Once, one family member of Şevket’s got sick, they took him to Manuli’s house and a doctor cured him. The Turkish villagers, who come to *Kırkıca* for trade, stay in the houses of their Anatolian Greek friends. Similarly, the Anatolian Greek villagers who go to the Turkish villages for buying an animal and milk, stays in these villages. Although the brotherhood is mentioned, the Turks are ignorant people who will never become civilized (Satiriou, 20-21). However, they are very honest. The owner of the trading establishment in which Manuli worked had died. One Turk whose name is İsmail Agha came to pay his debt. Although they told him that he did not need to pay his debt anymore, İsmail Agha paid his debt together with its interest. The author tells the following: “It was not only İsmail Agha who behaves like this. In fact, the Turks are in need of our friendship. We, the two people, were born and grew up on the same land together. If you ask our heart, neither do we hate them nor do they hate us” (Satiriou, 48).

When Manuli’s father dies, he turns back to the village to work. One day, he is called to the police station in the village. They have received a letter from his brother who escaped to Greece. The officers in the police station fine him for a letter coming from the fugitive brother. In the letter, his brother describes his escape from Turkey and what he did afterwards: “I recognize that Turkey has not awakened yet. ... In the letter, he was explaining everything in detail, how he escaped, how he passed to Greece, how he joined the Greek army and fought in Yanya, and how many Turks he had captivated, a swine” (Satiriou, 51). From now on, the brotherhood began to be eroded. However, the ingenuous Turks had not realized this situation yet.

Iordanidu<sup>33</sup> quotes her childhood memoirs. They lived in a three-storied house in *İstanbul*. It is told that the gangs formed by the young boys went out the borders of the neighborhood, and did not come back for hours. At the border of the outside neighborhood, the races mix with each other, “and you unexpectedly hear that

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<sup>33</sup> Maria Iordanidu (1997), *Our Courtyard*, trans. by Osman Bleda, Marenostrum Series, *Belge* Publ. The story passes in Greece. It is about observations of an old woman who lived in *İstanbul* at her youth.

children talk in Esperanto mixed up of the Anatolian Greek language, the Turkish, the Hebrew, and the Armenian languages". In 1960, when the author went to *İstanbul*, she met the captain of the *Büyükada* (the ancient Prinkipo) steamship, and they talked in Anatolian Greek language. When she asked him how he learned it, he told her that he learned it in streets while he was playing with Anatolian Greek children (1997: 33).

The author, in another work titled *Loksandra*, narrates the story of an Anatolian Greek woman who lived in Tattavra at the beginning of the century. Tattavra was like a liberated territory no Turks existed there. Only the Anatolian Greeks lived in Tattavra. All the relationship that Loksandra had with the Turks was because of a Turkish Pasha who stole her cat. For her, this Pasha was such a dog. The merciful sultan was the protector of these dogs, which is the Turks. Most of the minorities who live in Turkey are deprived of such protector (2000: 54). While she mentions the brotherhood and a peaceful life in her work *Our Courtyard*, she calls the Turks dogs in *Loksandra*.

In her novel, *Our Courtyard*, Iordanidu tells a story about "the Capture of *İstanbul*" which she also narrated as a play in *Loksandra* previously. In this play, the Conquerer, Fatih Sultan Mehmet had already entered *İstanbul*. He draws his sword to cut off the head of Paleologos (1993: 42).

- Kneel down, bandit! The game is over! Paleologos:  
- For the sake of Jesus, for the sake of *Panayia*. If you are a man, then knock me to the ground. I don not kneel down. *İstanbul* is ours!  
- Ours! Ours! *Zitooooo!* (*Hurrah!*)  
To Hell with you, says Mehmet again, and at that moment all the spectators rush to the scene" (1993: 43).

Although Iordanidu also emphasizes the brotherhood between the Turks and Anatolian Greeks, as it can be observed in her work *Loksandra*, throughout which Anatolian Greek identity has been kept. In *Loksandra*, the spectators who rushed to the scene shout as "Knock the son of Turks to the ground" and beat up the player who portrays Mehmet (2003: 173). The theme of brotherhood changes all the time. Although a brotherly life is mentioned, even in the plays the players who portray Turkish characters could be beaten up. In general, we can assert that when the Ottoman state had economic prosperity and power, all the communities were living in peace. As the economic situation got worsened, the Ottoman state

was no longer able to maintain the security. As a result of this, the brotherhood among the communities was going to be replaced by hostility. Toward the end of her work, Satiriou looks at all the things happened from all angles. Manuli states the common feelings of all the Anatolian Greeks who left Anatolia after the First World War with these words: "Say a farewell to Anatolia from me, the son of Blind Mehmet! Say a farewell to Anatolia from me ... Say her that she should not hold a grudge against us because we covered her land with blood ... And Allah damn you, the executioners who caused a brother to kill a brother" (243).

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION

In this study, selected literary works are examined to determine how Armenian and Greek minority groups have positioned themselves against the Turkish identity and how they defined their self-images throughout the history. The selected literary works which constitute the archive of this study are examined through discourse analysis.

The minority groups are selected on the basis of two basic criteria. The first is the minority definition accepted in 1923 Lausanne treaty. The second criterion is to be a non-Muslim ethnic group settled in Turkey and to have a nation-state to be associated with. Only Armenians and Greeks meet these two criteria in the early of 20<sup>th</sup> century. All the selected works were translated into Turkish from their original languages and they were written by the members of the Greek or Armenian minority groups. The literary works are presumed to be the most appropriate media where minority groups can most freely express their feelings and reactions.

#### 7.1. Review of the Study

The idea of national self-determination, which became a popular and pervasive idea in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, had effects on the multi-ethnic character of the Ottoman Empire. Considering that the borders are power domains and symbols (Donnan & Wilson, 2000: 11), Ottoman Empire has lost its power to provide a secure life within its borders. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century non-Muslim communities had lost their trust in the Ottoman Empire. As discussed earlier, *millet* system organized the relations between the Turks and non-Muslims on the basis of dominance and dependence. The communities which paid their taxes to the Empire in return for security were autonomous in most of their affairs. As a result of the weakening power of the Ottoman Empire, these communities defined themselves evslaved (*millet-i mahkuma*) and they asked from European powers to assist them in

gaining their independence. In order to spread an ethnic and national consciousness to their members, they created a common heroic historic past and great leaders (Renan, 1882, quoted from Smith & Hutchinson, 1994: 17).

Ethnic groups which seek to gain their liberty by establishing their own state constantly emphasized the historical roots of their races. Armenians were proud of establishing the alphabet which was in use 800 years ago. Both of these examples reflect primordial attachments. They imagine that their identities had never changed and no ruling power in Anatolia had ever managed to assimilate them. According to Anderson (2001: 211), Greek and Armenian minorities accepted their identities as given and unchanged.

However, more is needed to realize nation-state formation than primordial characteristics, which emphasize ancient and noble roots. For Modernist scholars a standard national language, a homogenous national culture and imagined horizontal community are some constructing elements of a nation state. The foundation of Turkish Republic was succeeded through the formation of a national language and through the rediscovery of the roots of Turks. In the same period, quite a number of nation-state is born out of the collapsed empires. The status of minority groups were determined on the basis of international agreements like the Lausanne treaty.

Unlike the presumption of Gellner (1996:35) who reduces the salience of ethnicity in modern age, ethnicity becomes a hotly debated issue pushing the boundaries of cultural and political rights. Free movement of labor, national language, general schooling and the rhetoric of equal access to social mobility, the last one "equal access to all rights in a given boundary" in particular is the most problematic issue. As is seen in our analysis, the real situation is quite different from the rhetoric. The minorities were not able to use the rights that they demanded. Furthermore, they were excluded and defined as the "other".

Donnan & Wilson (2000: 47) cite Walmann's definition of other and us. Those who remain within the national borders consider those who are not as the "other". Those who are defined as the "other" by "us", in contrast, define themselves as

“us” within their borders. Following the same argument, Milas states that the creation of the “other” is a prerequisite of nationalism. In order to define ourselves as a nation, we need the “other” nations which exist beyond our borders. Those who are not from us should not be powerful enough to cross our borders and interfere with our domestic affairs (2002:193).

Daily reminders and symbols such as national flags, football games are among some instruments which reproduce the “us” in daily life. Billig calls this approach, as indicated in chapter 2, “Banal Nationalism”. September 6-7 Events can be considered as a relevant example which substantiates Billig’s point. The Turkish government which was under a pressure to settle the Cyprus issue provoked the Turkish public opinion. Benlisoy who reviewed Turkish newspapers printed before these events, remark that *Hürriyet* newspaper presented Cyprus issue as a national cause and *Vakit* newspaper stated that Cyprus is a Turkish island. On the other hand, *Yeni Sabah* asks the patriarch, who refuses to be interviewed, to fulfill his duty to the Turkish nation (2000: 28-29). Billig compares national identities with phones. In periods of crises, the president of the state calls, the citizens respond and patriotism boasts. In the case 6-7 of September Events, the same scenario took place but the boasts of patriotism are far more exceeded and came to the point of racism.

The events such as September of 6-7, 1955 and Tax on Property and Wealth led Greek and Armenian minorities to be defensive against the Turkish national identity. They developed their own subjective, symbolic or emblematic identity. In that way, they differentiated themselves from other groups (De Vos 1975 cited in Vermeule & Covers, 1994: 4). As mentioned in the *Figure 2* in the second chapter, such problems do not emerge in the societies where ethnic consciousness and cultural awareness is high. In these societies, different ethnic groups can live together and freely express their cultural and religious rights. They accept the national identity of the country where they live as a supra-identity without renouncing their ethnic identity whereas in societies where the cultural awareness is low and ethnic consciousness is high, cultural awareness is deliberately limited by the political elites and the politics for homogenization is produced. Faced with such a policy the minorities chose to remain silent in order

not to lose few cultural rights that they enjoy. Still, a social system where ethnic minorities were put under pressure is open to ethnic conflict.

As indicated above, the counter discourse that these two minority groups have developed against the dominant national discourse is the main focus of this study. The genealogy of this counter-discourse is followed and analyzed through the selected literary works. On the basis of Foucault's theory, the discursive forms that the repressed constituted in the historical process and the way in which the other (national-official) discourse has changed are analyzed through discourse analysis.

Discourse refers to a group of statement which is related to production of knowledge through language. All social practice and all social conduct that we do entail a meaning with a discursive aspect (Hall, 1992:291 quoted from Hall, 2001: 72). Discourses are not certain and they can be fluid, and also be productive. This means that they can easily create normative ideas or common sense notions about, for instance, morality, sexuality, nationality, and identity. (Carabine, 2001: 269). The way of thinking or the state of knowledge at any time is called as episteme. It can be observed from texts or forms of conduct or institutions in society. Whenever these discursive events share same event or support a strategy in any political, institutional pattern, according to Foucault, it means that these events belong to the same discursive formation (Hall, 2001:72-73). Exile, apostasy and the related state policies which were constantly devised for minority groups constitute epistemes.

The policies for spreading Turkishness and for assimilating minorities belong to the same discursive formation where these epistemes belong to. The Party of Union and Progress could not find any option other than forming such a discursive formation in order to save the Empire falling apart. Discursive formation renames social formation in a given time. Breaking points in history such as the First World War led transformations from one discursive formation to another. The founders of the Turkish Republic changed the discursive formation of the Union of Progress to save Ottoman Empire from collapsing through Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism. On the other hand, the leaders of the Turkish

Republic devoted themselves to establish a national-state through Turkish nationalism. Thus, they have changed the discursive formation of the Union and Progress for their goal.

The steps listed in the chapter 3, are followed for genealogical method of analysis. After the first step, which is “read and re-read your data step”, the leading discourses in literary works are determined and they were analyzed in three sections: The Late Ottoman Empire Period, The Early Turkish Republic Period and Ethnic Identity. Then inter-relationship between the discourses, absences and silences are examined. On the basis of this examination, the resistances and counter-discourses are defined. At the final stage of the analysis, findings from these steps are interpreted within a historical analysis.

The first discourse which emerges in the late Ottoman Period and which constantly repeats itself in the analyzed literary works is “exile”. The ethnic groups miss their homelands that they had to leave. They mourn for their family members and relatives that they have lost in exile roads. Turks who are not affiliated with the state are usually depicted as innocent people who help minorities during the exile. Germans who cooperate with The Union and Progress Party are blamed for the exile. Furthermore, everyone who represents the state is blamed for their pain and suffering. The state authorities have not trusted Armenians who had converted to Islam and they exiled them too. This indicates that ethnic identity rather than religion began to be the basis of differentiation between “us” and “other”.

When exiled populations were allowed to turn back to their lands, most of the Armenians, in contrast to Greeks, returned to Anatolia that they consider as their homeland. The fact that Armenians have not established a state as the Greeks did, could be one of the reasons why they have decided to turn back at that time. Greeks had their own state with which they could associate themselves from the mid of 1800s. The absence of an independent Armenian state strengthened the will and struggle of Armenians to establish their own state. Also, being sent to exile had a crucial impact on the Armenian nationalism.

In the literary works, all Armenians are presented as the law-abiding and innocent citizens dealing with their daily affairs. Armenian nationalists who struggled against the Ottoman Empire are ignored in the works of Çerkezian, Margosyan and Ceyhan.

Adopted minority children by the Turkish families is another theme that is emphasized in the literary works. While the state authorities are held accountable for the separation between the parents and their children, the merciful Muslim families who adopted Greek children are praised for their benevolence. Still, some trusted Muslim families who temporarily accepted Greek children were accused of forcing them to convert to Islam. The difficulties of determining the ethnic origin of children who were trusted in either to Turkish families or to orphanage created a major problem.

The reasons of the exile decision and its implementation are not discussed in the literary works. Neither the influence of the nationalist movements nor the right of self-determination is treated in these works. The activities of Greek and Armenian political organizations for independence, the bloody guerilla warfare conducted by Armenians and Pontus Greeks and frequent minority upsurges and revolts are ignored. All the decisions and policies of the Union and Progress were presented as a systemic effort to terminate their presence in Anatolia rather than as attempts to save a state from collapsing. They do not consider that the leaders of the Union and Progress were anxious about a possible separation of East Anatolia and Black Sea from the Empire as the territories in the Balkans that have been separated. The Armenian and Pontus independence movements had all the characteristics of Greek and Bulgarian independence movements. This can be considered why the Armenian and Greek elements were defined as “the other” by the Union and Progress and expelled out from the country through policies such as exile, massacre, etc. The expulsion of each ethnic group out of the Ottoman lands, made it easier to rewrite and reinterpret the history.

In contrast to Greek and Armenian works, Turks are depicted as cruel in the literary works of Pontus Greeks. Greek squads are established to protect Pontus villages against the cruel Turks. Still, there are some good people among the

Muslim population. Along with other literary works, those who represent the state are depicted as bandits, enemies and killers. Pontus Greek armed units who attacked Turkish villages and their goal of independence are not stressed. As in the Armenian novels, the reasons of the exile are not mentioned.

The activities of the Turkish squadrons led by the local leaders such as Topal Osman had rather negative impacts on minority groups. Due to the war conditions such squadrons could not be integrated into the regular army units. Nonetheless, in contrast to the impression given in the literary works, the leaders of these groups were not considered as local heroes.

Pontus people are described in the literary works as a nation having deep historical roots. With a primordialist approach, their ethnic identity is constantly praised with reference to their land, language and religion. The exile discourse increased the in-group solidarity of this ethnic community and accelerated the rise of an independence movement based on ethnic identity.

Within the category of Ottoman Empire, apostasy is another frequently mentioned discourse. On the basis of Armenian and Greek works, it is possible to conclude that Armenians convert Islam to be exempt from the exile. Religion for Greeks, on the other hand, is an intrinsic part of their ethnic identity. In cases in which the Greeks convert into Islam, they continue to secretly practice Christianity. Similarly, Pontus Greeks define their ethnic group identity on the basis of religion. The Pontus Greeks in Andreadis' work convert to Islam in order to possess the chrome mines. Still, they secretly practiced Christianity for centuries in the churches that they have built underground.

In the Armenian works the issue of religion is associated with the exile. Most Armenians convert to Islam for being exempt from the exile. There are stories of Armenian women who are kidnapped and forced to accept Islam so that the kidnappers could guarantee the paradise after their death. While the converted Armenians bury dead people according to Muslim traditions they continue to practice Christianity in secrecy. The refusal of practicing Islam after conversion indicates the importance of religion for ethnic identity. In fact, religion for all

minority groups is considered to be the most important factor which determines the ethnic identity.

The differences in the economic conditions of Pontus Greeks and Aegean Greeks have a direct impact on their religious identity. Aegean Greeks lived in the fertile lands, they dominated the trade life in the region and they did not have major economical problems. As the economic interests of Aegean Greeks and Muslims did not openly conflict with each other, they have not interfered to each others' domain.

On the other hand, for Pontus Greeks, chrome mines were the only means of subsistence. Some of them had to convert to Islam just to continue to possess the right to exploit the mines. Christianity continued to provide the bonds between the ethnic groups. As the religious identity of Pontus Greeks was threatened, religion turned out to be the most determinant factor in preserving group identity. With the declaration of *Tanzimat*, Pontus Greeks openly expressed that they were not in fact Muslims but Christians. Muslim people who thought they were sharing the same faith with Pontus Greeks felt deceived. Pontus Greeks do not feel any resentment as they blame Muslims for forcing them to convert to Islam.

*Tanzimat* attempts but fails to unify different ethnic groups which live within the Empire. The discursive formation in the late Ottoman period seeks to maintain the unity of the state. For that purpose, several rights were given to non-Muslim minority groups in order to equalize their status with the Muslims. Due to the problems in the implementation of this policy, the tension between these two groups increased. The idea that a common life with non-Muslim groups is not possible grew among the Turkish intelligentsia. On the other hand, non-Muslim groups accelerated their activities to become independent with the rights that they have acquired (Berkes, 1978: 213).

Little Asia disaster, population exchange, the Events of September 6<sup>th</sup> -7<sup>th</sup>, tax on welfare and property are the discourses that emerge in the Early Republican period. The discursive formation of saving the state from the imminent collapse gave way to establishing the Turkish nation-state. This new discursive formation

consolidated the exclusion of minorities from “us” and defined them as the “other”.

In the literary works, Mustafa Kemal is compared with Enver. While the latter’s policy led the country into a disaster, Mustafa Kemal saved the nation from a collapse. The policies of the new regime are also compared with those the Union and Progress. Çerkezyan (2003) evaluates September 6-7 Events as the living heritage of the Unionist policies in the Republican era. In Greek literary works, Mustafa Kemal has been more positively evaluated. It is stated that his reforms could not be accomplished due to his early death. For Manglis, however, the Turkish revolution cannot be considered as successful because people died and suffered in the cause of establishing Turkish state (Manglis, 1998:189).

Andreadis refers to the positive role that the Greeks played in the foundation of Turkish state. Thanks to Kemal, whose life was bestowed by the kindness of Pontus people, Turkish people could have a leader. The story of Crazy Socrat who has not killed Mustafa Kemal can be considered as a myth for the national identity construction of Pontus Greeks. As Smith argues (1999c: 10-19), the nations define themselves by myth and symbols that were believed to belong to their ancestors. The myth of the brave Crazy Socrat challenging Mustafa Kemal emphasizes both the Hellenistic roots and cultural characteristics of the Pontus identity and its superiority over the Turkish identity. The Turkish officer who was not killed by the Pontus people prepared their end and as well as other Greeks living in Anatolia. In brief, according to the author, while Pontus people was on the verge of gaining their independence, the Russian revolution and then the Turkish movement of liberation changed the flow of the history and the Pontus state turned into a dream.

The invasion of Izmir by the Greek army marks the virtual end of the peaceful existence between the Greeks and Turks. After the arrival of the Greek army in Izmir, Greeks for Satiryu (142) would not any longer be the slaves of the Ottomans but Greek citizens. Days, filled with peace and the feeling of togetherness, were gone and the Turkish people had turned into “others”, even the enemies. For the Greeks, this occupation would not be temporary. Hence, the

*Megola Idea* would be realized by the occupation of the Aegean region and the Great Greece would be established.

The little Asia campaign ends with a disaster. Exchange of population significantly decreases the Greek element in Anatolia. In the literary works, the tragedy of the people who had to leave their lands is told rather than the legal implications of the population exchange. The rights given to all of the Turkish citizens would be applied without distinguishing between the Muslim and the non-Muslim peoples. Nevertheless, only three communities, Anatolian Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities had the status of being non-Muslim (*gayrimüslim*). Official authorities explained that communities willingly renounced the rights determined in Lausanne (Oran, 2003: 115).

Literary works are silent about the reasons of the population exchange. They merely describe the suffering and tragedy of Greek people. The politics of homogenization is used in order to suppress or deport ethnic and religious minorities which could not melt down in the process of constructing a Turkish national identity. Nationalism which has an ethnic basis either expels minorities out of national borders or treats them as foreigners or second class citizens (Smith, 1994: 196). The nationalist elites of the Republic have also followed this method to get rid of the minorities and accepted the population exchange (Aktar, 2002: 18).

The “Tax on Wealth and Property” is another policy of the Republican period used against the minorities. Some scholars argued that this tax is specifically designed for the minorities. Its goal was to force them to leave the country. Aktar (1999: 10) argues that this policy sought to determine every dimension of social life ranging from the languages spoken to the history taught in the schools. The attempt was to impose Turkish ethnic identity on minority groups. Religious and ethnic identities have been two important categories to define the tax rate (Lewis, 1988: 297). Handing Turkish market to the Turks and erasing foreign elements in the market were the basic goals of this policy.

In the literary works, the fear of non-Muslims to lose their property is constantly emphasized. While the unfair treatment of the non-Muslims is constantly expressed, the conditions of the Turkish economy and the poverty of Muslims are ignored. War conditions and war economy are among the subjects in which the authors remain silent about. The state's cruelty against the people who behaved honestly is stressed. According to the works only the ones who could avoid paying back tax loans or paid less lived in prosperity.

September 6-7 Events are the last major discourse of the Republican period. According to Çerkezyan, these events were the results of a provocation started with the Bayar-Menderes administration in 1950s. The result of this collaboration turned out to be extremely destructive. Following these events, many Anatolian Greeks and Armenians left *İstanbul* to settle abroad. The state and its representatives again proved to be untrustworthy for the minorities living in Turkey. The destruction and the traumas experienced in this period by the minorities have been explicitly expressed in the works. Nevertheless, the point met with silence is the reasons of these events. In the analyzed literary works, it is not mentioned that the non-Muslim population in Turkey used as a factor of bargain by the Turkish government in international politics. The fact that minorities are considered as factor of bargain implies that they never become a part of "us".

Given the lack of trust in the relationship between the state and citizens belonging to the minorities, the latter perceived themselves as the others, the ones who are discriminated. Such policies inhibited the development of a confidential relationship between the state and the non-Muslim Turkish citizens. These citizens always lived with the fear of losing either their properties or even worse their lives. These policies convinced them that they would always be the other on these lands. These policies lead minorities to develop as the other as opposed to the Turkish national identity.

Armenian, Pontus and Greek identities are examined in the final analysis chapter of this study. Armenians fought for the right of self-determination in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The armed struggle of the Armenians and their cooperation with the

Russian Army were the primary causes for the leaders of Union and Progress to send Armenians to exile. While Turks considered the Armenians as internal enemies and traitors cooperating with the enemy, Armenians describe their resistance as a movement struggling for independence. Aharonyan, praises Armenian ethnic identity and tells the stories of heroes which contribute to the national awakening. No ground of cooperation has remained between Turkish and Armenian communities according to Aharonyan. The state was unable to provide justice and it lost its authority over most Armenian groups. The lack of authority further incited people to organize and fight for their independence.

Rising Turkish nationalists reacted ferociously against the nationalist movements of minority groups. Both sides have developed negative stereotypes and violence became widespread. The reactions of the non-Muslims to the growing Turkish nationalism further strengthened their own nationalisms. This vicious circle repeated itself again and again.

While Çerkezyan argues that the Armenians were not the enemies of the Turks, he does not mention the massacres led by Armenian squadrons against the Turks. Both for Çerkezyan and Aharonyan the war of independence is considered as legitimate. The enemy is the other who deserves to be killed. Çerkezyan chose to be a “communist”.

According to Çerkezyan, the Union and Progress which came into power with the slogans of “Equality, Justice, and Liberty”, in actuality, completed the unfinished deeds of Abdülhamit who is “the registered enemy of the Christians, the monster who is never satisfied with the Armenian blood”. The Party actually went further than Abdülhamit and conducted a much more planned and conscious “genocide” (2003: 23). On the other hand, Mardin states that the greatest demand of the Young Turks was not to provide liberty but to cease the disintegration of the Empire. They believed that the ones who want to be separated from the Empire would change their minds if liberty and justice became dominant principles of the administration (1992: 301).

In the Republican Period, minorities were not allowed to hold certain positions. The concept of foreigner is arbitrarily used in the daily life and non-Muslims are included in this category. The recognition of specific rights to non-Muslims with the Lausanne Treaty had not been welcomed by the Turkish nationalists. Therefore, non-Muslims were forced to renounce some of their rights. The minorities who were considered to be out of the Turkish citizenship category had to either emigrate or live as second class citizens (Okutan, 2004: 300).

The ethnic minorities were considered as “the other” not merely on the basis of their ethnic affiliations but also on the basis of their physical characteristics. The body which is the carrier of identity is despised with an emphasis on the racial characteristics. For example, the heroes of the works feel excluded from and unaccepted by the society. With reference to Billig’s conceptualization of banal nationalism, nationalism is constantly produced in the daily life through mass media. Fat Jews, Armenians with big noses, Greeks with funny accents are among these stereotypes.

In the literary works, there is longing for the past, and the search for the lost lives. In the environment where fear is dominant, the idea that their lives are in danger is quite dominant. The Turkish Armenians are considered as conservative by diaspora environments since they have not supported the activities of Diaspora Armenians at the international level. Turkish Armenians are considered by both sides as the other who do not represent them (Bali, et. al., 1995: 199).

Pontus Greeks, on the other hand, put the blame on the irresponsibility of European powers which have not reacted to ethnic cleansing. The same irresponsibility for them led to lose *Istanbul* in 1453 and *Trabzon* in 1461. As a result of the indifference of European power thousands of Greek people was forced to leave their homeland between 1919 and 1922 (Andreadis, 1999b: 94-95).

Germans are held accountable for the pains and suffering of minorities as they have assisted Ottomans to modernize their army. According to the Germans have not only been interested in the army but also in the political settlement of the

Turkish question because they suggested the foundation of nation state with a single ethnic group and religion (Andreadis, 1997: 59; Manglis, 1998; Satiriou). In their view, German influence on Turkey made the Turks cruel. The Germans according to Satiriou (57) became the master mind of Turks who realized all their wishes. The Germans thought that the national unity of Turkey would not be possible without getting rid of the Christians. Satiriou implicitly argues that Turks were miserable people who were not aware of anything. Turkey, under the guidance of Germany, neither has its own consciousness nor its national identity. She believes that the Young Turk movement, which started in the Eleftheria (freedom) Square of Thessalonica, was based on liberal and humanist values. Nevertheless, it later turned out to be a nationalist and fascist Turkish movement. Its slogan was not any longer “freedom, equality and brotherhood” but “Turkey belongs to the Turks” (Andreadis, 1997: 59). The German influence lasts until the Law on Tax and Property.

The goal of Pontus Greeks is to establish an independent state from Ottomans in order to be liberated from assimilation. Pontus Greeks claim to be the only proprietor of the land in which they settle together with the Turks and the Armenians. They consider the presence of other ethnic elements to be temporary. This reflects a negative, unequal and racist nationalism. This conception of nationalism which can be described as the return of the repressed transforms itself to establish a state which is powerful enough to repress its own minorities.

Megalo Idea is the main discourse which determines the ethnic identity of the Greeks. In her works, Satiriou explicitly states that their main desire was to join to Greece. Megalo idea which emerged as an ideology in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, seeks to acquire all the lands that classical Greeks and Byzantian Greeks had (Volkan & Itzkowitz, 2002: 56). This idea created a supra identity for the Greeks. The author Vizyinos desires that Turks concentrate on Red Apple (central Asia) rather than on Europe. He hopes that Turks will return back to Asia, handing Byzantium over back to the Greeks. According to Vizyinos, the Khalife could move its throne either to Hallopi or to Baghdad (Vizyinos, 1994: 58).

## 7.2. Concluding Remarks

In our concluding remarks, the leading discourses which define the self images of ethnic minorities are elaborated.

In the periods of economic prosperity, all the communities within the Ottoman Empire had relatively peaceful relations with one another. Together with the deteriorating economic conditions, the state was not able to provide the security of its subjects. As a result, antagonistic relations became dominant among the communities.

Also, a continuity can be observed in the discursive formation of the late Ottoman and of the Early Republican period. The non-Muslim were regarded as distrustful traitors who cooperated with the enemy. These groups, which refused to share national feelings of the Turks, had to be excluded and kept under control. On the other hand, the non-Muslims, especially after the foundation of the Republic, did not have “antagonistic” relations with the Muslims although they frequently complained about the state and state organizations which either excluded or assimilated them.

The policies employed by the governing Turks in the above-mentioned period led the non-Muslims to perceive the state as the other since they encountered only the repressive attitudes of the state. As the state did not trust Christians, no arms or regular uniforms were provided to them. They were even labeled as the Fifth Column by the state.<sup>1</sup> During the Second World War, as in the previous one, the minorities were not allowed to undertake ordinary military duties and they were employed in the public services.

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<sup>1</sup> The term fifth column is firstly used for the supporters of Francisco Franco who attempted to break down the government through several sabotage and conspiracies during the Spanish internal war (1936-39). Currently, this term is used for all underground groups and movements which attempt to destroy the solidarity of a nation. The fifth column infiltrates to the centers of national defense and decision making centers of the country. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkce/gruph/ha/ha03bhtm/01.htm>

All these policies led to an increase in the in-group solidarity of the non-Muslims and they began to consider Turks as untrustworthy. They developed an image of a Turk who constantly suppressed them. The constant emphasis put on the Turkishness in every domain of daily life was another factor which bothered the minorities.

The social system of the Ottoman Empire until the *Tanzimat*, which was established on the basis of *millet* system, did not let the minorities enjoy the same rights and privileges that the Turks had enjoyed. The minorities were hierarchically lower than the Turks. As they were free to act within their community, they developed a solid group identity. The reform movements starting with the *Tanzimat* intended to provide equality for all Ottoman subjects. The new social rules brought by the *Tanzimat* were considered by the minority groups as an interference in their private domain, as explored in Chapter Four. Especially, the new authority that the state gained over the religious affairs of the minorities was perceived as a threat to their identity.

The decision to exile certain minorities after the Balkan wars and the First World War had a significant impact on the ethnic groups to define their ethnic identities. The decision to send Armenians into exile can be considered as the most significant element of Armenian nationalism, which still reconstructs Armenian identity especially in diaspora.

In the literary works, the collaboration of the ethnic groups with foreign powers is justified with the weakening ability of the state to protect their lives and properties. Nonetheless, the ambition of these ethnic groups to secede from the Ottoman Empire in order to join with their independent nation-states is mostly ignored.

As a result of the discriminatory policies of the state, such as the exile, exchange of population, tax on wealth and earnings, the minorities constantly felt threatened. They did not perceive themselves as a part of the Turkish national identity. They reduced their interaction with the Turkish community to minimum and they preferred to handle their problems within their own community. The resulting mistrust and isolation further prevented them to reject Turkish identity.

Most of the literary works are partial and they attribute negative images to Turkish identity. The Turks are associated with inferior characteristics as opposed to the Armenians and Anatolian Greeks. The adjectives attributed to the Turks, such as “cruel”, “rude” and “vulgar”, in fact describe the state authorities rather than individuals.

All the authors emphasize that nationalist feelings of the minorities arose due to the repressive and nationalist policies of the state. Thus, the minorities excluded the Turks as they were excluded by them. Such policies led the minorities to consider the state as the “other” and prevented them from developing a strong affiliation with the Turkish state and with the society. They still consider themselves as the “other” on these lands where they have lived for centuries.

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## **APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX 1

### COUNCIL OF MINISTER'S DECISION ON DEPORTATION

#### Sıra numrosu: 163

Meclis-i Vükelâ Müzâkerâtına Mahsûs Zabıtnâme  
Hülasâ-i me'âlî

Menâtik-ı harbiyyeye civâr mahallerde sâkin Ermenilerden bir kısmının hudûd-ı Osmâniyye'yi a'dâ-yı devlete karşı muhâfaza ile meşgûl olan Ordu-yı Hümâyûn'un harekâtını tas'îb ve erzâk ve mühimmât-ı askeriyye nakliyâtını işkâl ve düşman ile tevhîd-i âmâl ve ef'âl ve bi'l-hâssa sufûf-i âdâya iltihak ve memleket dâhilinde kuvây-ı askeriyyeye ve ahâlî-i ma'sûmeye müsellahan ta'aruz ve şuhûr ve kasabât-ı Osmaniyye'ye tasallut ile katl ve nehb ü gârete ve düşman kuvâ-yı bahriyyesine erzâk tedârikiyle mevâki'-i müstahkemeyi irâ'eye cür'etleri bu gibi anâsır-ı ihtilâliyyenin sâha-i harekâtdan uzaklaşdırılmasını ve usâta üssü'lharekât ve melce' olan köylerin tahliyesini îcâb ederek bu bâbda ba'zı gûna icrâ'âta başlanıldığı ve mine'l-cümle Van, Bitlis, Erzurum vilâyâtıyla nefsi Adana, nefsi Sis ve nefsi Mersin müstesnâ olmak üzere Adana, Mersin, Kozan, Cebel-i Bereket livâları ve nefsi Mar'aş müstesnâ olmak üzere Mar'aş sancağı ve Haleb vilâyetinin merkez kazâları müstesna olmak üzere İskenderun, Belen, Cisir-i şu'ûr ve Antakya kazâları kurâ ve kasabâtında sâkin Ermenilerin vilâyât-ı cenûbiyyeye sevkine bi'l-ibtidâr Van vilâyetiyle hem-hudûd olan kısım-ı şimâlîsi müstesnâ olmak üzere Musul vilâyetine ve Zor sancağına ve nefsi Urfa müstesnâ olmak üzere Urfa sancağının kısım-ı cenûbiyyesine ve Haleb vilâyetinin şark ve şark-ı cenûbî kısmına ve Sûriye vilâyetinin kısım-ı şarkîsinde ta'yîn ve tahsîs edilen mahallere nakl ve iskânına mübâşeret ve devâm edilmekde bulunduğu beyânıyla menfa'at-i esâsiyye-i devlete muvâfık telakkî edilen bu cereyânın bir usûl ve kâ'ide-i muttarideye rabtı lüzûmuna ve bu bâbda ba'zı ifâdâta dâ'ir Dâhiliye Nezâreti'nin 13 Mayıs sene [1]331 târîhli ve 270 numrolu tezkiresi okundu.

## Karârı

Fi'l-hakîka devletin muhâfaza-i mevcûdiyyet ve emniyyeti uğrunda tevâlî eden icrâ'ât ve ıslâhât-ı fedâkârîsi üzerine icrâ-i sû-i te'sîre sebep olan bu kabîl harekât-ı muzırranın icrâ'ât-ı mü'essire ile imhâ ve izâlesi kat'iyyen muktezî ve nezâret-i müşârün-ileyhâca bu emrde ibtidâr olunan icrâ'âtdaki isâbet bedîhi olduğundan tezkire-i mezkûrede dermiyân kılındığı üzere muharrerü'l-esâmî kurâ ve kasabâtda sâkin Ermenilerden nakli îcâb edenlerin mahall-i mürettebe-i iskâniyyelerine müreffehen sevk ve îsâlleriyile güzergâhlarında te'mîn-iistirâhât ve muhâfaza-i cân ve mâlları ve muvâsalâtlarında keyfiyyet-i îğvâlarıyla sûret-i kat'iyyede iskânlarına kadar "Muhâcirîn Tahsîsâtı"ndan i'âşeleri ve ahvâl-i sâbıkâ-i mâliye ve iktisâdiyyeleri nisbetinde kendilerine emlâk ve arâzî tevzî'i ve içlerinden muhtâc olanlara taraf-ı hükûmetden mesâkin inşâsı ve zurrâ' ve muhtâcîn-i erbâb-ı san'ata tohumluk ve âlât ve edevât tevzî'i ve terk etdikleri memleketde kalan emvâl ve eşyâlarının ve yâhûd kıymetlerinin kendilerine suver-i münâsibe ile i'âdesi ve tahliye edilen köylere muhâcir ve aşâ'îr iskânıyla emlâk ve arâzînin kıymeti takdîr edilerek kendilerine tevzî'i ve tahliye edilen şuhûr ve kasabâtda kâ'in olup nakledilen ahâlîye â'id emvâl-i gayr-i menkûlenin tahrîr ve tesbît-i cins ve kıymet ve mikdârından sonra muhâcirîne tevzî'i ve muhâcirînin ihtisâs ve iştigâlleri hâricinde kalacak zeytunluk, dutluk, bağ ve portakallıklarla dükkân, hân, fabrika ve depo gibi akârâtın bi'l-müzâyede bey' veyâhûd îcârı ile bedelât-ı bâliğâsının kendilerine i'tâ edilmek üzere ashâbı nâmına emâneten mâl sandıklarına tevdî'i ve mu'âmelât ve icrâ'ât-ı mesrûdenin îfâsı zımında vukû' bulacak sarfiyâtın "Muhâcirîn Tahsîsâtı"ndan tesviyesi zımında nezâret-i müşârün-ileyhâca tanzîm edilmiş olan tâ'lîmâtnâmenin bi-temâmihâ tatbîk-i ahkâmıyla emvâl-i metrûkenin te'mîn-i muhâfaza ve îdâresi ve mu'âmelât-ı umûmiyye-i iskâniyyenin tesrî' ve tanzîmî ve tedkîk ve teftîşi ve bu husûsda tâ'lîmâtnâme ahkâmı ve nezâret-i müşârün-ileyhâdan ahz ve telakkî edilecek evâmîr dâ'iresinde mukarrerât ittihâz ve tatbîki ve tâlî komisyonlar teşkîli ile ma'âşlı me'mûr istihdâmı vazîfe ve salâhiyyetlerini hâ'iz olmak ve doğrudan doğruya Dâhiliye Nezâreti'ne merbût bulunmak ve bir re'îsi ile biri me'mûrîn-i dâhiliyyeden ve diğeri me'mûrîn-i mâliyyeden intihâb ve ta'yîn edilecek iki a'zâdan tereküb etmek üzere komisyonlar teşkîl edilerek mahallerde mezkûr

ta'limâtnâmenin vâfîler tarafından icrâ-yı ahkâmı tensîb edilmiş olduğunun  
cevâben nezâret-i müşârün-ileyhâya teblîğî ve devâ'ir-î mûte'allıkaya ma'lûmât  
itâsı tezekkür kılındığı,

17 Mayıs 1331

**BOA. Meclis-i Vükelâ Mazbatası, 198/163**

**APPENDIX 2**

**DEPORTATION OF ZEYTUN ARMENIANS**

**Bâb-ı Âlî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdüriyyeti**

**Husûsî:**

**14 Şifre**

Mar'aş Mutasarrıflığı'na

C. 25 Nisan sene [1]331. Evvelce de iş'âr olunduğu vechile Zeytûn'daki Ermenilerin tamâmının ihrâcı lâzımdır. Keyfiyet Başkumandanlığa yazılmışdır.

Fî 26 Nisan sene [1]331

Nâzır

**Tal'at**

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 52/286**

**APPENDIX 3a**

**EXEMPTION OF CATHOLIC ARMENIANS FROM DEPORTATION**

**Bâb-ı Âlî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdîriyyeti**

**Umumî: 423**

**Şifre**

Erzurum, Adana, Ankara, Bitlis, Haleb, Diyârbekir, Sivas, Trabzon,  
Ma'mûratü'l-azîz, Van Vilâyetleriyle Urfa, Canik, Mar'aş Mutasarrıflıklarına

Kalmış olan Ermeni Katoliklerinin sevk ve ihrâclarından sarf-ı nazar edilmesi  
livâ/vilâyet nüfûsları mikdârının iş'ârı.

Fî 21 Temmuz sene [1]331

Nâzır

**Tal'at**

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 54-A/252**

**APPENDIX 3b**

**DEPORTATION OF ARMENIANS WHO BELONG TO COMMITTEE  
MOVEMENT EXCEPT THOSE WHO DEAL WITH TRADE AND COMMERCE**

**Bâb-ı Âli**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdüriyyeti**

**Şifre**

Trabzon, Sivas, Diyârbekir, Ma'mûretü'l-azîz Vilâyetleriyle Canik Mutasarrıflığı'na İhrâc olunacak Ermenilerden komitecilerle hükûmetçe muzır tânınmış eşhâsın â'ileleriyle birlikde teb'îdleri ve kendi işleriyle meşgûl tüccâr ve esnâfın vilâyet/livâ dâhilinde kasabaları tebdîl edilmek üzere alıkonulması münâsib görüldüğünden ba'de-mâ o sûretle hareket olunması.

Fî 21 Haziran sene [1]331

Nâzır

**Tal'at**

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 54/287**

**APPENDIX 3c**

**EXEMPTION OF ARMENIAN MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENT  
AND THEIR FAMILIES FROM DEPORTATION**

**Bâb-ı Âlî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdîriyyeti**

**Husûsî: 5029**

**Şifre**

Erzurum, Adana, Ankara, Bitlis, Haleb, Hüdâvendigâr, Diyârbekir, Sivas, Trabzon,  
Konya, Ma'mûretü'l-azîz, Van Vilâyetleriyle, Urfa, İzmit, Canik, Karesi, Karahisâr-ı  
Sâhib, Kayseri, Mar'aş, Niğde, Eskişehir Mutasarrıflıklarına

Ermeni meb'ûs ve â'ilelerinin ihrâc edilmemeleri.

Fî 2 Ağustos 1331

Nâzır

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 55/19**

**APPENDIX 3d**

**THE SITUATION OF ORPHANT ARMENIAN CHILDREN**

**Bâb-ı Âlî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdîriyyeti**

**Husûsî: 4573**

**Mahrem**

**Şifre**

Ma'mûretü'l-azîz Vilâyeti'ne

C. 12/13 Haziran sene [1]331. İş'âr olunan sâhibsiz Ermeni çocuklarının şimdilik buldukları mahallerde kalmaları münâsibdir.

Fî 13 Haziran sene 1331

Nâzır

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 54/163**

**APPENDIX 4a**

**APPROVAL TO THE RETURN OF GREEKS DEPORTED FROM THEIR  
VILLAGES**

**Bâb-ı Alî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdîriyyeti**

**Şu'be: 3**

**(Şifre)**

Kal'a-i Sultâniyye Mutasarrıflığı'na

**Altı**

Mukaddemâ köylerinden teb'îd edilmiş olan livânın Biga kazâsına mülhak Haruço (?) ve Musaca (?) köyleri Rum ahâlîsinin bu kerre Gönen'in Sarıköy nâhiyesi merkezinden karyelerine avdet etmişler ise de evvelce köylerinde yerleşdirilmiş olan Müslümân muhâcirler tarafından karyelerine girmelerine müsâ'ade edilmediği haber veriliyor. Böyle bir hâl vâki' ise tedâbîr-i mü'essire ve serî'a ittihâzıyla Rumların karyelerinde yerleşmeleri ve her nev' ta'arruzdan vikâyeleri esbâbının istikmâliyle inbâsı.

Fî 1 Şubat sene [1]335

Nâzır Vekîli  
**Ahmed İzzet**

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 96/7**

**APPENDIX 4b**

**ENDING OF ARMENIAN DEPORTATION**

**Bâb-ı Âlî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdîriyyeti**

**Şifre**

Hüdâvendigâr, Ankara, Haleb, Adana Vilâyetleriyle, Mar'aş, Karahisâr-ı Sâhib,  
Eskişehir, Kütahya, İzmit, Niğde Mutasarrıflıklarına

Mahâl-i mu'ayyeneye gönderilmek üzere vilâyât ve sâi'reden gelmiş ve yola  
çıkartılmış olanlar müstesnâ olmak üzere yeniden Ermeni sevkiyâtında  
bulunulmaması.

Fî 14 Teşrîn-i Evvel sene [1]331

Nâzır

**Tal'at**

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 57/135**

**APPENDIX 4c**  
**ENDING OF ARMENIAN DEPORTATION**

**Bâb-ı Alî**  
**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**  
**Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdiriyyeti**  
**Umûmî: 9**

**Şifre**

	Vilâyeti'ne		Mutasarrıflığı'na
Edirne	"	İzmit	"
Adana	"	Bolu	"
Ankara	"	Canık	"
Aydın	"	Karesi	"
Hüdâvendigâr	"	Kayseri	"
Sivas	"	Kütahya	"
Kastamonu	"	Niğde	"
Konya	"	Eskişehir	"
		Mar'aş	"

Görülen lüzûm ve icâb-ı idârî ve askerîye binâ'en ba'de-mâ Ermeni sevkîyatının t takarrur etdiğinden şimdiye kadar çıkarılanlardan başka artık hiç bir sebep ve vesîle Ermeni ihrâc olunmaması ta'mîmen tebliğ olunur.

Fi 2 Mart sene [1]332

Nâzır  
Tal'at

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr.62/21**

## APPENDIX 5a

### THE PRESERVATION AND REGISTRATION OF ABANDONED PROPERTIES

**Bâb-ı Âlî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**İskân-ı Aşâyir ve Muhâcirîn Müdüriyyeti**

**29**

**Şifre**

Kayseri Mutasarrıflığı'na

C. Fî 10 Haziran sene [1]331. Emvâl-i metrûkenin muhâfaza ve sebt-i defter edilmesi zımnında me'mûrîn-i Mülkiye ve Mâliye'den mürekkebe komisyon teşkîli muktezîdir. Bu bâbdaki mufassal ta'limâtnâme fî 28 Mayıs sene [1]331 târîhinde postaya verilmişdir, vusûlünün iş'ârı.

Fî 15 Haziran sene [1]331.

Nâzır

**Tal'at**

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 54/226**

**APPENDIX 5b**  
**RETURNING OF PROPERTIES TO THE ARMENIANS AND ANATOLIAN**  
**GREEKS WHO ARE DISPLACED**

**Bâb-ı Alî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Aşâyir ve Muhâcirîn Müdüriyyet-i Umûmiyyesi**

**İskân Şu'besi**

**Husûsî: 35325**

**Şifre**

Edirne	Vilâyeti'ne	Eskişehir	Mutasarrıflığı'na
Erzurum	"	Urfa	"
Adana	"	İçel	"
Ankara	"	İzmit	"
Aydın	"	Bolu	"
Bitlis	"	Teke	"
Hüdâvendigâr	"	Canik	Mutasarrıflığı'na
Diyârbekir	"	Çatalca	"
Sivas	Vilâyeti'ne	Karahisâr-ı Sâhib	"
Trabzon	"	Kal'a-i Sultâniyye	"
Kastamonu	"	Karesi	"
Konya	"	Kayseri	"
Ma'mûretü'l-azîz	"	Kütahya	"
Van	"	Mar'aş	Mutasarrıflığı'na
		Menteşe	"
		Niğde	"

Umûm 78

Tebdîl-i mahall etdirilen Rum ve Ermenilere â'id emvâl-i metrûkenin sûret-i [istirdâd ve i'âdesini ve verilecek tazmînât ve husûsât-ı sâ'ire hakkında der-dest-i [vaz'] karârnameni hîn-i tatbîkinde daha ziyâde müşkilâta ma'rûz kalınmamak üzere gerek Hükûmet gerek efrâ tarafından mübâya'a ve suver-i sâ'ire ile elde edilip el-yevm mevcûd bulunan emvâl-metrûkenin bey' ve terhîn vesâ'ire gibi ukûdât ve mu'âmelât ile elden ele geçmesin kat'iiyyen meydân verilmemesi lüzûmunun icâb edenlere tebliği ve bu bâbda tedâbir-i serî' ve mü'essire ittihâzıyla hilâfında harekete meydân bırakılmaması ehemmiyetle beyân olunur.

Fi 15 Şubat sene [1]335

Nâzır Vekili

**Ahmed İzzet**

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 96/195**

**APPENDIX 5c**

**THE PRESERVATION OF PROPERTIES OF ARMENIANS WHO ARE  
DEPORTED**

**Bâb-ı Âlî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**İskân-ı Aşâyir ve Muhâcirîn Müdüriyeti**

**Şifre**

Sivas, Trabzon, Ma'mûretü'l-azîz vilâyâtıyla Canik Mutasarrıflığı'na

Nakl ve sevkleri takarrur eden Ermenilerin berâberlerinde götürmeyecek-leri emvâl-i menkûle ve gayr-i menkûlenin sûret-i idâre ve muhâfazası hakkındaki ta'lîmâtname posta ile der-dest-i irsâl olduğundan şimdilik emvâl-i mevcûdenin taht-ı muhâfazaya aldırılması.

Fî 14 Haziran [1]331

Nâzır Nâmına

**Ali Münîf**

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 54/202**

**APPENDIX 5d**

**THE RETURN OF PROPERTIES TO THOSE WHO RETURNED TO THEIR  
HOMELAND**

**Bâb-ı Alî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Aşâyir ve Muhâcirîn Müdüriyyet-i Umûmiyyesi**

**Şu'besi:İskân**

**Husûsî: 37530**

**Şifre-Telgraf**

Bitlis Vilâyeti'ne

C. 22 Nisan [1]335 şifreye. Tehcîr olunan eşhâsdan mahâll-i sâ'irede bulunanların memleketlerine avdetleri hâlinde metrûk emvâl-i menkûle ve gayr-i menkûlelerinin ancak kendilerine teslîmi îcâb eder. Serd olunan mütâla'aya nazaran İslâm olan vekîl ve vasîlerine teslîmi muvâfık değildir.

Fî 4 Mayıs [1]335

Nâzır  
Nâmına  
**Keşfi**

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 99/35**

## APPENDIX 6a

### MEASURES THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN FOR ARMENIANS WHO ARE ALLOWED TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMELAND

**Bâb-ı Alî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Aşâyîr ve Muhâcirîn Müdüriyyet-i Umûmiyyesi**

**İskân Şu'besi**

Dâhiliye Nezâretinden İstanbul, Adana, Hüdâvendigâr, Konya, Ankara, Kastamonu, Haleb, Ma'mûretü'l-azîz, Diyârbekir, Sivas, Edirne, Aydın vilâyetleriyle, İzmit, Bolu, Kütahya, Karesi, Kayseri, Niğde, Menteşe, Antalya, Urfa, Canik, Eskişehir, İçel, Mar'aş livâlarına keşîde edilen 21 Teşrîn-i Evvel sene [1]334 târîhli şifre sûretidir.

1- Ahvâl-i harbiyye dolayısıyla karâr-ı askerî ile bir mahalden çıkarılarak diğer mahalle sevk edilmiş olan bi'l-umûm ahâlînin çıkarıldıkları mahallere avdetlerine müsâ'ade edilmesi Meclis-i Vükelâca takarrur etmiş olduğundan avdete tâlib olanlara müsâ'ade edilecektir.

2- Erzurum, Trabzon, Van, Bitlis, Diyârbekir, Ma'mûretü'l-azîz vilâyetleriyle Erzincan Mutasarrıflığı dâhilinde vesâ'it-i i'âşenin adem-i kifâyesine binâ'en işbu mahaller ahâlîsinden avdet etmek isteyenler için evvel-i emrde mahalleriyle bi'l-muhâbere selâmet-i seyr ve seyâhatleri ve i'âşe ve iskânları esbâbı te'mîn edildikçe pey-der-pey azîmetlerine müsâ'ade edilmesi muktezîdir.

3- Bu karâr menâfi'-i âliye-i memleket nazar-ı i'tibâra alınarak ittihâz edilmiş olduğundan emr tatbikâtında kat'iyyen ta'allül ve te'ahhura meydân verilmeyecektir.

Aslına Muvâfıkdır.  
(Mühür)  
Dâhiliye Nezâreti Aşâyir ve Muhâcirîn  
Müdüriyyet-i Umûmiyyesi

**BOA. HR. MÜ, 43/34**

## APPENDIX 6b

### MEASURES THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN FOR ARMENIANS WHO ARE ALLOWED TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMELAND

Dâhiliye Nezâreti'nden vilâyât ve elviye-i müstakilleye yazılan 23 Teşrîn-i Evvel sene [1]334 târîhli 31558 numrolu şifre sûretidir. 18 Teşrîn-i Evvel sene [1]334 târîhli şifrelere zeyl.

Esbâb-ı harbiyyeden dolayı mahall-i âhara sevk ve nakl edilen bi'l-umûm ahâlînin memleketlerine avdetlerine müsâ'ade i'tâsı Hükûmetçe ne derece matlûb ise bunların emîn ve sâlim bir sûretde te'mîn-i seyr ü seferleri de kemâl-i ehemmiyyetle müstelzemdir. Binâ'enaleyh mevâdd-ı âtînin nazar-ı dikkatden dûr tutulmaması muktezîdir.

1- Her vilâyet veyâ livâ merkez veyâ mülhakâtında tâlib-i avdet ne kadar nüfûs ve â'ile vardır ve bunlar nerelidir?

2- Birinci fıkrada gösterilip tâlib-i avdet olan eşhâsın memleketleri nazar-ı i'tibâra alınarak avdetleri ve memleketlerinde iskânları mümkün olup olmadığının ve seyr ü seyâhatlerinde selâmet-i kat'iyye bulunup bulunmadığının gidecekleri memleket hükûmetiyle muhâbere edildikten ve mikdârları hakkında mahalline ve merkeze ma'lûmât verildikten sonra eşhâs-ı mezkûre i'âde olunabilecektir.

3- Ahâl-i mezkûrenin kemâl-i selâmetle i'âdesi i'âde eden hükûmât-ı mahalliyye rû'esâsının taht-ı mes'ûliyyetinde cereyân edeceği cihetle husûsât-ı mebhûsenin bi'l-muhâbere ta'yîn ve tesbîtinden ve ahvâl ve vaz'iyet-i hâzıraya göre yollarda selâmet-i seyr ü seyâhatleri her sûretle şâyân-ı i'timâd me'mûrîn-i inzibâtiyye ile sâ'ir alâkadâr me'mûrîn tarafından te'mîn edildikten sonra icrâ olunacaktır.

4- Husûsât-ı ânifenin tatbîk ve icrâsında kusûr ve tekâsülû görülen me'mûrîn hakkında derhâl en şedîd mücâzât tatbîk edilmek üzere hemân merkeze iş'âr kılınacaktır.

Aslına Muvâfıkdır.

(Mühür)

Dâhiliye Nezâreti Aşâyir ve Muhâcirîn

Müdfiriyet-i Umûmiyyesi

**BOA. HR. MÜ, 43/34**

## APPENDIX 7

### THE PRESERVATION OF THE REAL ASSETS OF DEPORTED ARMENIANS

**Bâb-ı Âlî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**İskân-ı Aşâyir ve Muhâcirîn Müdüriyyeti**

**Umûm: 452**

**Şifre**

Erzurum, Adana, Ankara, Aydın, Bitlis, Haleb, Hüdâvendigâr, Diyârbekir, Sûriye, Sivas, Trabzon, Ma'mûratü'l-azîz, Musul Vilâyetleriyle, Urfa, İzmit, Canik, Zor, Karesi, Kayseri, Karahisâr-ı Sâhib, Mar'aş, Eskişehir, Niğde Mutasarrıflıklarına,

Adana, Haleb, Mar'aş, Diyârbekir, Sivas, Trabzon, Ma'mûratü'l-azîz, Erzurum ve İzmit Emvâl-i Metrûke Komisyonu Riyâsetlerine

Nakledilen Ermenilerin emvâl-ı menkûlelerinin pek ucuz elden çıkarıldığı ve şuradan buradan toplanan erbâb-ı ihtikârın seyyi'e-i inhisârı olarak, yok behâsına satılarak ashâbının külliyyen mütezarrır olduğu istihbâr olunuyor,

Tahliye edilecek menâtıka yabancı şübheli ve mâhiyeti mechûl hiç bir kimsenin duhûl ve seyrine müsâ'ade edilmemesi, gelmişler varsa derhâl ihrâcı,

Bunlardan ucuz mâl almışlar varsa fesh-i bey' gibi tedâbirlere mürâca'atla kıymet-i asliyelerine ircâ'ına gayret olunarak sûret-i kat'iyede menâfi'-i gayr-i meşrû'aya meydân verilmemesi,

Bunların istedikleri eşyâyı götürbilmelerine müsâ'ade edilmesi,

Götürmeyecekleri eşyâdan durmakla bozulan eşyâ ile havâ'yic-i zarûriyyeden olanların bi'l-müzâyede bey'î,

Nakledilmemiş olan eşyâdan durmakla bozulmayacakların ashâbı nâmına muhâfazası,

Emvâl-i gayr-i menkûle îcâr ve rehin vefâ'en ferâğ ve haciz gibi sâhib-i aslîsinin alâka-i mülkiyet ve tasarrufunu izâle etmeyecek ukûdâtın men'î ve bidâyet-i hicretten şimdiye kadar icrâ edilen ukûdâtın mefsûh addi,

Mukâvelât ve ukûdât-ı muvâza'a-kârâneye meydân verilmemesi,

Bey' ve ferâğ gibi mu'âmelât-ı bey'iyye-i kat'iyyeye müsâ'ade edilmesi ve ahibâbının arâzî ve emlâk iştirâsının men' î iktizâ eder.

Fî 29 Temmuz sene [1]331

Nâzır  
Tal'at

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 54/381**

## APPENDIX 8

### THE PREVENTION OF AGRESSIONS THROUGH THE DISPATCH

**Bâb-ı Âlî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdüriyyeti**

**Husûsî: 6266**

**Şifre**

Diyârbekir Vilâyeti'ne

C. 19 Teşrîn-i Evvel sene [1]331. Urfa'dan Re'sü'l-ayn ve Nusaybin târîkiyle Ermeni kâfilelerinin sevkine evvelce teşebbüs edilmişdi. Fakat kâfileler kasabadan infikâki müte'âkib urbân ve aşâyirin tecâvüzüne mâr'ûz kalarak avdet etdiler binâ'en-aleyh bu kâfilelerin her hâlde Siverek tarîkiyle i'zâmına mecbûriyet görölerek Urfa'ya o yolda teblîğât yapılmışdır. Vürûdunda reddolunmayarak Musul'a sevkleri.

21 Teşrîn-i Evvel sene [1]331

Nâzır

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 57/277**

**APPENDIX 9**  
**CONDUCT ABOUT THE ARMENIAN CHILDREN**

**Bâb-ı Alî**  
**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**  
**Emniyyeti-i Umûmiyye Müdüriyyeti**  
**Şu'be: 2**  
**Husûsî: 31**

Hâriciye Nezâret-i Celilesine

Devletlü efendim hazretleri,

23 Kânûn-ı Evvel sene [1]334 târihli ve 1671 numrolu tezkireye zeyldir. Ermeni kız ve çocukları hakkında şimdiye kadar yapılan mu'âmeleyi hâvî olup İstanbul Polis Müdüriyyet-i Umûmiyyesi'nden bâ-tezkire-i cevâbiyye tevdi' olunan üç kıt'a listenin sûreti husûl-i ma'lûmât zımnında leffen irsâl kılınmış olmağla ol bâbda emr ü fermân hazret-i men-lehül'emrindir.

Fî (5) Rebî'ü'l-âhır sene [1]337  
ve Fî 8 Kânûn-ı Sâni sene [1]335

Dâhiliye Nâzırı Nâmına  
Müsteşâr

**Bâb-ı Alî**  
**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**  
**Emniyyeti-i Umûmiyye Müdüriyyeti**  
**Şu'be: 2**  
**Husûsî: 1671**

Hâriciye Nezâreti-i Celilesine

Devletlü efendim hazretleri,

Makri Köyündeki İslâm hânelerinden alınan kızların esâmî ve mikdârıyla kimler tarafından alındıklarına ve kaçının velî ve vasilerine i'âde olunduğuna dâ'ir tanzim ve İstanbul Polis Müdüriyyet-i Umûmiyyesi'nden bâ-tezkire tevdi' olunan listenin sûreti husûl-i ma'lûmât zımnında leffen tisyâr kılınmış olmağla ol bâbda emr ü fermân hazret-i men-lehül'emrindir.

Fî Rebî'ü'l-evvel sene [1]337  
ve 24 Fî Kânûn-ı Evvel sene [1]334

Dâhiliye Nâzırı Nâmına  
Müsteşâr

**Bâb-ı Alî**  
**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**  
**Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdüriyyet**

**Sûret**

	Hizmetçi veya evlad-ı ma'nevî sıfatıyla hanesinde kızlar bulunan zevât	Kızların miktârı	Kızların esâmisi	
1	Makri Köyünde Cevizlik Mahallesi'nde İstasyon Caddesinde Dişçi Ânf Bey Hemsîresi Hânım	1	-	Mezbûre orman me'mûru Ermeni milletinden Maksûd Efendi bes-lemesi ise de hânım-ı mûmâ-ileyhânım nezdinde otuz gurus üç-retle hizmetçilik etmiş ise de ahiren Maksûd Efendi'ye teslim edildiği ve Ermenidir.
2	Makri Köyünde Zeytûnlük Mahallesi'nde Bedri Ziyâ Bey	1	Aranik	Mûmâ-ileyhin nezdinde dört mâh akdem bulunmuş olan Ermeni milletinden Halebli on üç yaşlarında mezbûre Aranik ve İslâm ismi Emine olan kız hâl-i firârda olup henüz bulunamamıştır.
3	Makri Köyünde Cevizlik Mahallesi'nde Karakol Sokağı'nda Dıyârbekir Vâli-i Esbâkı Hâlid Bey	1	Melek	Mezbûre Edirnekapı'da Acıçeşme'de Malatya'lı Osman'ın kerimesi olup beş mâh mukaddem Kadımlar Çalışdırma Cem'iyyeti'nden alınmış ve el-yevm mûmâ-ileyhin nezdinde bulunup mezbûre mücib-i ihtilâf olmuşsa da Müslime olduğu anlaşılarak bir taraftan alınmamış ve el-yevm mûmâ-ileyhin hânesin-dedir.
4	Ayastefanos'da mukim Makri Köy İ'âşe Mufettişi Nasûhi Bey	1		Mûmâ-ileyhin nezdinde bulunan Ermeni milletine mensûb kız bi'z-zât emir-ber neferi vâsıtasıyla Ermeni Patrikhânesi'ne teslim edilmiştir. El-yevm oradadır.
5	Makri Köyünde Sakız Ağacı'nda Vapur İskelesi Caddesi'nde Fransız Mektebi ittisâlinde Tasfir-i Efkâr Gazetesi Sâhib-i İmtiyâzı Ebu'z Ziyâ-zâde Velid Bey	1	Dirjin	Mezbûre Bandırmalı on sekiz yaşlarında ve şehri sekiz mecdiye ma'âş mukâbilinde hizmetçilik etmekte iken vukû' bulan taleb üzerine Kânûn-ı Evvel sene [1]332 târihinde Birinci Şu'be Müdüriyeti'ne i'zâm kılınmıştır.
6	Makri Köyünde Yeni Mahalle'de Hacı Kâmile Hanım	1	Kâmile	Mezbûre Trabzonlu ve Ermeni milletine mensûb on dört yaşlarında mühtediye ise de Ermeniler Fransız asâkiri tarafından hânedan cebren alınarak Makri Köy Ermeni Kilise-si'ne verilmiş kiliseden Patrikhâne'ye gönderilmiştir.

	Hizmetçi veya evlad-ı ma'nevi sıfatıyla hanesinde kızlar bulunan zevât	Kızların miktârı	Kızların esâmisi	
7	Makri Köyünde Cevizlik Mahallesi'nin batı sokağında Telgraf Nezâreti Şef Mu'âvini Ali Ruzâ Bey	1	Bahtiyâr	Mezbûre hakkında ihtilâf hâsıl olmuş ise de milliyeti hakkındaki netice-i tahkikâtda İzmir'in Turgud kasabası ahâlisinden Süleymân Ağa Kerimesi ve dokuz yaşlarında Müslime olduğu anlaşıldığından mûmâ-ileyhe i'âde edilmiştir.
8	Makri Köyünde Cevizlik Mahallesi'nde Erzurum Telgraf Başmüdiri İhsân Bey	1	Aliye	Mezbûrenin milliyeti mücibi ihtilâf olduğundan netice-i tahkikâtda Cihângîr Çavuş'un kerimesi ve on iki yaşlarında olduğu anlaşıldığından mûmâ-ileyh İhsân Bey hânesine teslim edilmiştir.
9	Makri Köyünde sâhil boyunda kâ'in hânedâ Ömer Rüşdi Paşa,	1	Âyşe	Mezbûre Karahisâr-ı Şarkîli ve dokuz yaşlarında ve Hasköy imâmının nezdinde vâlidisi olup Müslime olduğu anlaşılarak Paşa-yı müşarûn-ileyhin hânesine terk edilmiştir.
10	Makri Köyünde Cevizlik Mahallesi'nde Çoban Sokağında Sıvacıyan Hânesinde Uzunköprü eşrafından Mustafa Bey,	1	Hüsnâ	Mezbûrenin Ermeni milletinden olduğu beyân edilmişse de mûmâ-ileyhin kerimesi olduğu anlaşılmağla i'âde edilmiştir.
11	Makri Köyünde Zeytûnluk Mahallesi'nde 25 numarolu hânedâ mukim, ekmeğ tevzi' me'mûru Abdullâh Efendi	1	Âyşe	Fransız asâkiriyle Ermeniler tarafından hânesinden alınan mez-bûrenin hâmil bulunduğu tezkire-i Osmâniyyesi tedkik olunarak Müslime olduğu anlaşıldığından sened mukâbilinde mûmâ-ileyh Abdullâh Efendi'ye teslim edilmiştir.
12	Makri Köyünde Cevizlik Mahallesi'nde mukim ve Angel'in fırınında müstah-dem Mülâzım Avnî Efendi	2	Emine diğeri Fâtma	Emine ve Fâtma mûmâ-ileyhin hânesinden Fransız asâkiriyle Ermeniler tarafından alınmış ise de netice-i tahkikâtda Müslime olduk-ları anlaşıldığından Emine sened mukâbilinde diğeri kilise tarafından doğruca mûmâ-ileyhe teslim edilmiştir.
13	Makri Köyünde Kartaltepe'de Bağlarbaşı'nda Ümrâniye Sokağında Der-sa'âdet Cinâyet Mahkemesi A'zâsından İhsân Bey	1	İkbâl	Mezbûre Fransız asâkiri ve Ermeniler tarafından hânedâ cebren alınmış ise de Halebli ve Müslime olduğu anlaşılarak sened mukâbilinde mûmâ-ileyhe merkezce teslim edilmiştir.
14	Makri Köyünde Cevizlik Mahallesi'nde Muhâbereci Sokağında Fahri Bey hânesinde mukim, kâ'im-i makâm tekâ'üdü İbrâhîm Bey	1	Âyşe	Mezbûre Rum milletine mensûb olup Ermeniler ve Fransız asâkiri tarafından hânedâ cebren alınmış ise de mûmâ-ileyhe sened mukâbilinde i'âde kılınmış ve şimdi nişanlısı balıkcı Nikola'nın nezdinde bulun-duğu ve kendisi Adanalı olup ismi Olga'dır, yirmi yaşındadır.

	Hizmetçi veya evlad-ı ma'nevî sıfatıyla hanesinde kızlar bulunan zevât	Kızların miktârı	Kızların esâmisi	
15	Makri Köyü'nde Cevizlik Mahallesi'nde Eski Telgraf Sokağı'nda Hallâc Hayrî Efendi	1	Na'ime	Mezbûre hânedan Ermeni ve Fransız askeri tarafından cebren alınarak Makri Köy Ermeni Kilisesine teslim ve mezkûr kiliseden Ermeni Patrikhânesi'ne sevk olunmuştur. Kendisi Erzurumlu Cemâl kerimesi ve on üç yaşlarında Müslime olduğu beyân edilmektedir.
16	Makri Köyü'nde Zeytûnluk Mahallesi'nde 510 numaralı Hat Muhâfaza Taburu Yedinci Bölük Kumandanı Mehmed Nûri Efendi	1	Emîne	Mezbûre Ermeniler tarafından alınarak Makri Köy Ermeni Kilisesine bî'z-zât teslim ettikleri el-yevm mezkûr Ermeni Patrikhânesi'nde bulunmaktadırlar, kendisi asker Mehmed Alî'nin kerimesi ve bir Müslime olduğu iddi'â edilmektedir.

*Sûret*

Merâkizden gönderilen listede esâmisi muharrer olmayan Ermeni eytâmı hakkında

17	Ayastefanos'da mukim, Yozgad Tasfiye Komisyonu A'zâsından Latif Bey  Ashına Mutâbıktır. Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Kalem-i Umûmiyye Müdiriyyeti	1		Mûmâ-ileyhin Ermeni milletine mensûb fakat ihtidâ etmiş zevce-i mutallakı ve teyzesinin kerimesi ile hasbe't-talâk mufârakate ve mahall-i âhara gitmiş ise de bulunduğu mahall Latif Bey tarafından Ayastefanos Ermeni papasına bildirilmiş ve tahkik edilmekte bulunduğu.
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*Sûret*

Merâkizden gönderilen listede esâmisi muharrer olmayan Ermeni eytâmı hakkında

İsmi	İkâmetgahı	
Erafnaz Tomayan	Şehzâdebaşı'nda Kalender Mahallesi'nde Bozdoğan Kemerî Caddesi'nde 184 numaralı hâne	Mezbûre Hâriciye Nezâreti'nin iş'ârı ve Dâhiliye Nezâreti'nin der-kenârı mücebince teyzesi Madam Eznif Tomayan'a teslim edilmiştir.
Arşa Luis	Çengelköyü'nde Binbaşı Rızâ Bey'in hânesinde	Mezbûre Patrikhâne'ye teslim edilmiştir.
Artin nâm-ı diğer Abdullah	Kumkapı'da Kolluk Sokağı'nda Kadırga Hastahâne'si me'mûrlarından Ali Bey'in hânesinde	Merkûm Patrikhâne me'mûrlarından Kirkor Efendi'ye teslim edilmiştir.
Arosyak	Üsküdar'da Ayazma Mahallesi'nin Tulumîye Sokağı'nda beş numaralı hânedâ mutasarrıfen sâkine Hâlide Hanım nezdinde	Patrikhâne'ye teslim edilmiştir.

İsmi	İkâmetgâhı	
Ermetohi	Kâsımpaşa'da Acıçeşme Sokağı'nda 375 numarolu hânedede mukim Yüzbaşı Veysel Bey'in hânesinde	Patrikhâne'ye teslim edilmiştir.
Bahtiyâr, Şâyeste	Üsküdar'da Selimiye Mahallesi'nin Tekke Sokağı'nda 77 numarolu hânedede sâkin Kâ'im-i makâm Ca'fer Bey'in hânesinde	Mezbûreler Patrikhâne'ye teslim edilmiştir.
Ormanoş	Üsküdar'da Ayazma Mahallesi'nin 33 numrosunda müste'ciren sâkine Yüzbaşı Hasan Fehmi Efendi hânesinde	Mezbûre Patrikhâne'ye teslim edilmiştir.
Manik Meryem	.....	Kâdiköy Ermeni Kilisesi'ne teslim edilmiştir.
İskohi Evanik Veled-i Miğirdaç	.....	Selâmsız'da kâ'in Ermeni Kilisesi re'isi başpapasına teslim edilmiştir.
Maryam bint-i Agob Lusin bint-i Agob	.....	İstanbul Patrikhâne me'mûrlarından Dikran Efendi'ye teslim edilmiştir.
Makrohi Nevart Anna	Nişantaşı Murâdiye Mahallesi Teşvikiye Yokuşu'nda 28 numarolu hânedede mukim Binbaşı Hamid Sabri Bey'in hânesinde	Patrikhâne'ye teslim edilmiştir.
Seranos	.....	Erzincan muhâcirlerinden Süleyman oğlu Mehmed ile 16 Teşrin-i Sâni sene [1]334 târihinde Marşandiz treniyle Haydarpaşa'ya vürüd etmiş olan mezbûre Ermeni Hastahânesi'ne teslim edilmiştir.
Ermatohi	Beşiktaş'da Serencebey Yokuşu'nda sâkin	Yenikapı Ermeni Kilisesi'ne teslim edilmiştir.
Losin Karabet Gürciyan	Fâti'h'de Sofular'da tüccârdan İsmâ'il Efendi nezdinde sâkine	Papas Kaloset ile Kavvâs Serkiz efendilere teslim edilmiştir.
Avanot veled-i Armanak	.....	Sirkat mes'elesinden dolayı ikâmetgâh ta'yininden izhâr-ı acz eden İzmit muhâcirlerinden on dört yaşlarında olan merkûm Patrikhâne'ye teslim edilmiştir.
İsmâ'il	Bebek Daru'l-Eytâm'nda	Mü'essese-i mezkûreden Ermeniliği şübheli olarak gön-derilmiş olan İsmâ'il çocuk Ermeni olduğu bi't-tahkik anlaşılmışla Patrikhâne'ye teslim edilmiştir.
Horopesimya bint-i Kalos Horet bint-i Kaloset	Fâti'h'de Harâccı Muhyiddin Mahallesi'nde Bostan Sokağı'nda Sâbık Tirebolu Ka'im-i makâmı müteveffâ Selim Sırrı Efendi hânesinde	İkisi de Patrikhâne'ye teslim edilmiştir.

İsmi	İkâmetgahı	
Süleymân	Sofular Mahallesi'nde Peştemalci Sokağı'nda Hoca (Viço)nun hânesinde	Patrikhâne'ye teslim edilmiştir.
Trezifa	Sarıyer'de Masarburnu Caddesi'nde Nefise Hamm nezdinde	Patrikhâne'ye teslim edilmiştir.
Rânbe bint-i Gabod	Sultan Süleymân-ı Kânûnî Mektebi Başmu'allimesi Emine Hamm nezdinde	Mezbûrenin İslâm olduğu Kadınlar Çalışdırma Cem'iyeti İslâmiyyesinin 28 Kânûn-ı Evvel sene (13)34 târîh ve bi-lâ numrolu müzekkeresinde beyân edilmesine mebnî tahkîkât icrâ edilmektedir.

Aslına mutâbıkdır  
Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdüriyeti

BOA. HR. MÜ, 43/2-17

## APPENDIX 10

### THE PLACEMENT OF ARMENIAN CHILDREN TO ORPHANAGE

**Ma'ârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti**

**Kalem-i Mahsûs**

**Husûsî numro: 327**

**Umûmî numro: 194195**

**Dahiliye şifresiyle**

**kapatılacaktır.**

Diyârbekir, Haleb, Trabzon, , Erzurum, Sivas Bitlis, Ma'mûretü'l-azîz,  
Van vilâyetleriyle Mar'aş Mutasarrıflığı'na

Mevki'leri tebdîl veya birer sûretle teb'îd edilen Ermenilerin on yaşından dûn çocuklarını dâru'l-eytâm te'sîsiyle veya mü'essisi dâru'l-eytâmlara celb ile ta'lîm ve terbiye etmek mutasavver olduğundan bunlardan vilâyet dâhilinde ne kadar çocuk bulunduğunun ve orada dâru'l-eytâm te'sîsi için münâsib binâ bulunub bulunamayacağının âcilen iş'ârı.

Fî 13 Haziran sene [1]331

Ma'ârif Nâzırı

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 54/150**

**APPENDIX 11**

**HANDING OVER OF ARMENIAN CHILDREN WHO ARE SETTLED WITH  
MUSLIM FAMILIES TO THE COMMISSION CONSTITUTED OF ARMENIANS**

**Bâb-ı Alî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdîriyyeti**

**Umûmî**

**Husûsî**

**Şu'be: 2**

**(Şifre)**

**Mûsta'celdir**

Kayseri Mutasarrıflığı'na

Beş.

C.25 Kânûn-ı Sâni sene [13]35. İslâm â'ileleri nezdinde bulunduğu bildirilen Ermeni kız ve çocuklarının da der[hal] buldukları yerlerden aldırılarak Ermenilerden teşkîl edilmiş olan komisyona teslimleri ve i'âşelerinin te'mîni.

Fî 5 Şubat sene [13]35

Nâzır Vekîli

**Ahmed İzzet**

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 96/76**

**APPENDIX 12**

**THE DEPORTATION OF ARMENIANS WHO BECAME MUSLIM**

**Bâb-ı Âlî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdîriyyeti**

**Husûsî: 35**

**Şifre**

Kayseri Mutasarrıflığı'na

C. 29 Haziran sene [1]331. Ermenilerin ihtidâsı sırf-ı ilcâ-yı menfa'at ile olduđu için ihtidâları üzerine teb'ûdleri te'hîr edilmeyecektir.

Fî 30 Haziran sene [1]331

Nâzır

**Tal'at**

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 54/427**

## APPENDIX 13

### THE DEPORTATION OF ARMENIANS WHO BECAME MUSLIM

**Bâb-ı Âlî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Emniyyet-i Umûmîyye Müdîriyyeti**

**Husûsî: 4635**

**Şifre**

**Mahrem**

Erzurum, Adana, Bitlis, Haleb, Diyârbekir, Trabzon, Ma'mûretü'l-azîz, Musul, Van, Urfa, Kütahya, Mar'aş, İçel, Eskişehir Vilâyet ve Mutasarrıflıklarına

İhrâc olunan Ermenilerden ba'zılarının müctemi'an veyâ münferiden arz-ı ihtidâ etdikleri ve bu sûretle memleketlerinde kalmak çâresini te'mîne çalışdıkları anlaşılıyor. İhtidâ bir netîce-i kanâ'at olduğu için kat'iyen bu gibi mesâ'ilde mevzû'-ı bahs olamaz ve hiçbir zaman bu şekilde vukû' bulacak ihtidâlara i'timâd olunamaz. Binâ'en-aleyh öteden beri kendilerini menfa'atlerini tehlikede gördükleri zaman bir vâsita-i iğfâl olarak ihtidâ etdiklerini ileri süren bu kabîl eşhâsın mürâca'atlarına sûret-i kat'iyede atf-ı ehemmiyet edilmemesi ve bi'l-âhere İslâm nâmı altında da neşr-i mefsetden geri kalmayacak bu âdemlerin ihtidâ etseler bile yine ta'yîn olunan mahallere sevklerinden sarf-ı nazar olunmaması ehemmiyetle teblîğ olunur.

Fî 18 Haziran sene 1331

Nâzır

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 54/254**

**APPENDIX 14**

**THE MARRIAGE OF ARMENIAN GIRLS WHO BECAME MUSLIM**

**Bâb-ı Âlî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdîriyyeti**

**Husûsî: 5112**

**Şifre**

**Bi'z-zât hall olunacaktır.**

Niğde Mutasarrıflığı'na

Ermeni kızlarından ihtidâ edenlerin sû-i isti'mâle kat'iyen meydân verilmemek  
şartıyla

İslâmlara tezvîci münâsibdir.

Fî 5 Ağustos sene [1]331

Nâzır

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 55/92**

## APPENDIX 15

### HERITAGE CONDUCTS OF CHILDREN, MARRIED PEOPLE AND THOSE WHO BECAME MUSLIM

**Bâb-ı Âlî**

**Dâhiliye Nezâreti**

**İskân-ı Aşâyir ve Muhâcirîn Müdüriyeti**

**İstatistik Şu'besi**

**Umûmî: 451**

**Şifre**

Adana, Ankara, Erzurum, Bitlis, Haleb, Hüdâvendigâr, Diyârbekir, Sûriye, Sivas,  
Ma'mûretü'l-azîz, Musul, Trabzon, Van Vilâyâtıyla, İzmit, Urfa, Eskişehir, Zor,  
Canik, Kayseri, Mar'aş, Karesi, Kal'a-i Sultâniyye, Niğde, Karahisâr-ı Sâhib  
Mutasarrıflıklarına,

Adana, Haleb, Mar'aş, Ma'mûretü'l-azîz, Diyârbekir, Trabzon, Sivas, Canik, İzmit  
Emvâl-i Metrûke Komisyon Riyâseti'ne

İhtidâ eden veyâhûd izdivâc edenlerle berây-ı teslîm ve terbiye şâyân-ı i'timâd  
zevât nezdine bırakılan çocukların emlâk-i zâtiyyeleri ibkâ ve mûrisleri vefât etmiş  
ise hisse-i irsiyyeleri i'tâ olunur.

Fî 29 Temmuz sene [1]331

Nâzır

**Tal'at**

**BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 54-A/382**

## APPENDIX 16

### PONTUS ANTHEM

Onca zamandır beklenen gün geldi, O an geldi çattı,  
Esaret altındaki,  
Boyunduruk, aşığılanma bitti,

Pontus'un tepelerinde  
Karabinalar yaşatıyor  
1821 devrimini ve  
Özgürlük türküleri söylüyor

Dirilişin Büyük Çanı Çalıyor  
Herkes giysin  
En güzel elbisesini”

Ve ikona  
Kutsamadan Anavatanı  
Kurban sunalım ona  
Gençtik, zenginlik ve yaşamı

Tiranın süngüleri  
Pontus toprağında  
Açtı mezarını şehitlerin  
Her adımda

Ölü ya da diri hepsi  
intikam diyor  
Tüm Pontusluları, yıkılmış ülkemiz  
Silah başına çağırıyor

## TURKISH SUMMARY

1980'lerin sonundan itibaren Avrupa ve dünyada ulusalcı hareketler, etnik çatışmalar, yeni kurulan ulus devletler, azınlık hakları, gündemi meşgul eden konular haline gelmiştir. Milliyetçi hareketler ve etnik çatışmalar, Bosna, Somali, Çeçenistan vb., siyasal çatışmaların kaynağı olduğu gibi yeni ulus devletlerin de sınırlarını çizmiştir. Aynı zamanda küreselleşen iletişim araçlarının yaygın kullanımı siyasal çatışmaların sürekli gündemde kalmasına neden olmuştur. Bu siyasal ve etnik çatışmalar etkilerini akademik dünya üzerinde de göstermiştir. Özellikle, ulus devletlerin ortaya çıkışı ile etnik çatışmaların sona ereceği öngörüsünü taşıyan modernist kuramcılar, yeniden milliyetçilik, etnisite ve etnik kimlik gibi konuları tartışma platformuna taşımışlardır. Hem uluslararası gündeme hem de akademik çalışmalara yeniden konu olan milliyetçilik, etnik kimlik ve azınlıklar, Avrupa Birliği üyelik süreci içinde olan Türkiye'de de güncel bir konu haline gelmiştir.

Avrupa Birliği katılım sürecinde ön koşullardan biri haline gelen azınlık hakları, Türk siyasi konjonktüründe tarihi kökleri olan bir tartışma konusudur. 1923 Lozan Sözleşmesi'ne dayanan azınlık hakları, bu hakların ne kadarının kullanıldığı yada kullanılmasına izin verildiği, Avrupa Birliği sürecinde pazarlık konusu haline gelmiştir; Heybeliada'da yeniden açılacak olan ruhban okulu, azınlık vakıflarının mal varlığı vb. gibi. Avrupa Birliği, diğer aday ülkelerden olduğu gibi Türkiye'den de azınlıkların hukuki statüsünü değiştirecek kanunlarda gerekli değişiklikleri yerine getirmesini talep etmektedir. Bu taleplere Türk tarafınca verilen yanıtlar ise genelde Türkiye coğrafyasının etnik zenginliği ve multi kültürel zenginliği taşıdığını, ve 1923 Lozan Sözleşmesine dayalı haklarla farklılıkların bir arada mutlu yaşadığını belirtmek olmuştur.

Bunların yanı sıra Türkiye'deki akademik çalışmalar çoğunlukla Türk milliyetçiliği karşısında azınlıkların konumunu incelemektedir. Oysa Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminden itibaren var olan azınlıkların kendi konumlarını nasıl gördükleri ve kendilerini nasıl temsil ettikleri konusu ise yeterince incelenmemiştir. İşte bu nedenle araştırmanın konusu olarak gayrimüslim azınlıkların,

hakim unsur olan Türk ulusalcılığı ve kimliği karşısında kendi konumlarını nasıl belirledikleri seçilmiştir.

Koçoğlu'nun son dönemlerde yayınlanan "Azınlık Gençleri Anlatıyor" (2001) ve "Hatırlıyorum", (2003) isimli çalışmaları bu tarz bir yaklaşımın bir örneği olarak kabul edilebilir. Yazar, ilk eserde azınlık gruplarına dahil olan 46 genç ile mülakat yapar. Görüşmenin yapıldığı kişiler isimleri ifşa edilmediği takdirde özgür bir biçimde kendilerini ifade edeceklerini belirtirler. İkinci eserde ise 60 yaş üzeri azınlık mensubları ile mülakat yapılır. 28 kişiyi hedefleyen araştırma 13 kişi ile yetinmek zorunda kalmıştır. Mülakat esnasında bu 13 kişi, fikirlerini açıklamakta çekimser kalmışlardır. Bu durum bize gerçekleştireceğimiz araştırmamızın sınırlılıklarını sunmaktadır. Azınlıkların toplumsal yaşama dair açıkça görüş ifade ed-e-memeleri, bilimsel verilerin tutarlılığı ve geçerliliği sorunlarını gündeme getirmektedir. Bu nedenle araştırma nesnesi olarak seçilen kurguya dayalı edebi eserler ihtiyatla değerlendirilmiştir. Edebi eserler duyguların, düşüncelerin, davranış kalıplarının çok daha özgürce ifade edildiği kurgusal eserlerdir. Azınlıkların, edebi bir kurgu ile dile getirdikleri eserlerinde kendi özgür iradelerini daha açık bir biçimde ifşa edeceklerine inanılmıştır. Analiz edilen edebi eserlerin aktardığı tarihsel olaylar çoğunlukla 19. yy başından itibaren 1960'lı yıllara kadar uzanmıştır. Bu dönem içerisinde gayrimüslim azınlıklar Türklerle olan etkileşimleri sonucunda bir takım davranış kalıpları ve algılar geliştirerek kendi kimliklerini tanımlamışlardır. Bu nedenle azınlık kimliğinin şekillenmesinde tarihsel olayların incelenmesi gerektiğine inanılmaktadır.

Edebi eserler, yukarıda belirttiğimiz gibi, azınlıkların kendi tarih ve duygularını ifade ettikleri en özgür araç olmuştur. Bu eserlerde Türk kimliğini yeren ve hakir gören öyküler ile anekdotlara sıklıkla rastlamak mümkündür. Edebi eserlerin çoğunluğu ilk olarak kendi dillerinde, Ermenice ve Yunanca, basılmıştır. Eserler 1980'lerden sonra Türkçeleştirilmiştir. Kitaplar gayrimüslimlerin "öteki"leştirilen Türk kimliğine dair, yukarıda belirtildiği gibi, tüm olumlu ve olumsuz ifadeleri, davranışları, davranış kalıplarını ve algılarını sunmaktadırlar. Türk imajını belirleyen tüm bu ifadelerin halihazırda azınlıkların kendi etnik ve ulusal bilinçlerini etkileyen araçlar olduğuna inanılmaktadır. Tarafsız olma kaygısı taşımayan bu eserler, çoğunlukla gerçek yaşam öykülerine dayandırılmış olsa da tarihsel

olayları tahrif etmektedirler. Bu durumu verili olarak kabul ederek, eserlerde yapılmış tahrifler, tarihin yeniden kurulması ve bazı olayların dışlanarak aktarılması çalışmamızın esas malzemesini sağlamıştır. Özellikle de edebi eserlerde hiç bahsedilmeyen, dile getirilmeyen ve dışlanan olaylar, çalışma için en az vurgulanan ve süreklilik arz ederek tekrarlanan; örneğin “kurban edilmiş”, “aldatılmış” şeklinde kurulan Rum ve Ermeni kimlikleri gibi, olaylar kadar önem taşımaktadır. Bu nedenle edebi eserler araştırma için azınlık kimliğinin Türk kimliği karşısında nasıl kurulduğunu sergileyen olası ve ihtiyatla değerlendirilmesi gereken bir malzemeyi sunmuştur.

Çalışma, azınlık gruplarının kendi söylem stratejileri üzerinden kendi kimlik ve imajlarını Osmanlı ve Türk kimliği karşısında nasıl tanımladığını incelemektedir. Empirik araştırma yöntemleri; mülakat, saha araştırmaları gibi yöntemler azınlık kimliklerinin kuruluşunu ve söylemin kurucu unsurlarını vermede yetersiz kalmıştır. Araştırmada incelenen Ermeni ve Rum etnik / azınlık kimliklerinin, “öteki” olan Türk kimliği karşısında tarih boyunca nasıl kurulduğunu edebi eserler üzerinden sunmak için soykütüksel bir analiz yöntemi izlenmiştir.

Tezin savı gayrimüslim azınlıkların, yani Ermenilerin ve Rumların, “öteki” Türkler karşısında kendi imajlarını / kimliklerini nasıl konumladıklarını, kurulan kimliklerin kurucu temalarını ve tarih sürecinde değişen söylemlerini saptamaktır. Bu analiz, önceki paragraflarda belirtildiği gibi, gayrimüslim azınlıklara dahil olan entellektüel ve yazarlara ait edebi eserler üzerinden yürütülmektedir. Bu söylemlere referans olan tarihsel süreç ise geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminden 1960'lara kadar gelmektedir. Tarih boyunca öne çıkan bu söylemler ile azınlıkların kendi imaj ve kimliklerini nasıl kurduğu, hangi konularda temaların süreklilik ve kesiklik arzettiği incelenmektedir. Bunların yanı sıra

- Azınlıklarca siyasi otoriteye ait olduğu belirtilen azınlıklara yönelik politika ve ideolojileri,
- Azınlıkların Türk kimliğini kurma- ma- da kullandığı kurucu söylem elemanları,
- Söylem elemanlarının analizinde gizlenen anlamlar ve aralarındaki ilişkiler incelenecektir.

Son dönemlerde bazı kuramsal çalışmalar bilgi ve gerçekliğin toplumsal kurulumuna öncelik vermiştir. Bu yaklaşımlarda sunulduğu gibi bilgi aktif bir biçimde sürekli olarak yeniden kurulmaktadır. Tez edebi eserlerin incelenerek azınlıkların kendi kimlik ve imajlarını kurma sürecinde, bir okuma yöntemi olan soykütütsel söylem analizini kullanarak, yöntemine dair kısa bir kavramsal çerçeve sunmaktadır. Bilginin doğal olarak verili veya kendinden bağımsız olarak var olduğundan ziyade, kurulmuş ve geçici olduğu yaklaşımını benimseyerek, çalışmamız Osmanlı – Türk toplumu içinde azınlıkların kendilerini farklı kültürel etnik gruplar olarak kurma yöntemlerini ve hangi imajları kullandıklarını inceleyecektir.

Tez toplam yedi bölümden oluşmuştur. Girişten sonra yer alan ikinci bölüm konunun kuramsal boyut ve kuramsal çerçevesini açıklamıştır. Üçüncü bölüm edebi eserlerin nasıl inceleneceğini aktararak, eserleri ve yazarları tanıtmıştır. Dördüncü, beşinci ve altıncı bölümler ise elde edilen bulguları ve yapılan analizi sunmuştur. Yedinci bölüm, tezde yapılan çalışmanın genel bir değerlendirmesini yaptıktan sonra elde edilen bulguları sunmaktadır.

### **Milliyetçilik, Etnik Kimlik ve Azınlıklar**

ikinci bölüm, yukarıda belirttiğimiz gibi, tezin temel teorik kapsamını oluşturan etnik kimlikler ve milliyetçilik üzerine kavramsal bir çerçeve hazırlayarak genel bir değerlendirme yapmıştır. Türkiye'deki iki gayrimüslim topluluğun, Ermeni ve Rumların, kimlik oluşturma sürecinde etnik kimliklere ve milliyetçiliğe dair kuramsal bir çerçeve ile bu kimliklerin tanımı ve oluşumunu tartışmak için gerekli olan temel bilgiler sunulmuştur. Ayrıca, tezi ikincil olarak ilgilendiren Türk milliyetçiliğinin kurucu öğelerine dair Gellner (1983), Smith (1992), Anderson (1990) gibi teorisyenlere ait argümanlar da bu kavramsal çerçeve içinde aktarılmıştır.

Bilindiği gibi milliyetçilik söylemi, ulus devlet süreci içinde belli bir kırılma noktasına gelmekte ve homojenlik iddialarının ardında farklı etnik gruplar için dışlayıcı olabilmektedir. Temel olarak negatif olan milliyetçilik kavramına, yani

dışlayıcı olabilen milliyetçiliğe, azınlıkların tepkisi kültürel olmuştur. Bu duruma gösterilen tepki özellikle 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında azınlık edebiyatı ile ortaya çıkmıştır. Bahsedildiği gibi milliyetçilik 19. yy itibarıyla iki açıdan gelişmiştir. Birinci yaklaşım ilerilik kavramı üzerinde yoğunlaşarak, vatandaşlık kavramı üzerinden hukuki hakları belirlemiş, ulus devlet sürecinde yoğunlaşmıştır. Diğeri ise “öteki, bize ait olmayan” ve “biz, bize ait olan” meselesi üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Bu nedenle, ulus devlet ilerici rolünü kaybetmeye başlamıştır. Kapsayıcı politikalar üretmek farklılıkları içselleştirmek yerine “öteki” olarak görülenler için dışlayıcı olmuştur. Bu nedenle sömürgecilik, ayrımcılık gibi tartışmalar ulus devletin dışlayıcı rolü üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktadır. Temel kültürel yapı içinde ayrık duran farklı gruplar, homojenlik iddialarının kapsayıcılığının altında bastırılarak eritmeye çalışılmıştır. Bunu yaparken de çoğunluğun niteliklerini verili kabul ederek homojenliği çoğunluğun kültürel değerleri üzerinden üretmeye çalışmaktadır. Farklılıkları homojen yapı içinde eritmeyi hedeflerken, aynı zamanda gizil dışlayıcı mekanizmalar üretmek farklı etnik grupların toplumsal yapıya artiküle olmasında engellemektedir. Bunlar ulus devletin bütünleştirici ve homojenleştirici mekanizmaları olan ortak dil ve din birliği gibi temalardır. Bu kültürel basın yapı, farklı unsurların ve grupların temel toplumsal yapıya entegre olmalarını engellemiştir. Egemen söylemin homojenleştirmeyi hedeflerken içinde erit(e)mediği ve hatta dışladığı ayrık duran azınlıktaki kültürler buna refleksif olarak tepkide bulunmuşlardır.

Türkiye cumhuriyetinin kuruluş aşaması da homojenleştirici ulus devlet kurma modeli üzerinden gitmiştir. Çoğunluğun değeri olarak kabul edilen İslam, toplumu eklemlen bir araç olarak görülmüştür. Türk olmak “Müslüman” olmakla eşleştirilmiştir. Bu tarz bir zihniyet ise Türk vatandaşlığı altında gayri Müslim azınlıkları bir yandan içselleştirir görünürken bir yandan da dışlamıştır. Dışlanmışlığın ise en yumuşak biçimde ve yegane ifade edildiği yer ise edebi eserler olmuştur. Ayrıca diğer ifadenin dışa vurulabileceği alanlarında kolaylıkla sansüre uğratılabilmesi riski neden gayri Müslimlerce hazırlanmış olan edebi eserleri analiz birimi olarak seçtiğimizi tekrar açıklamaktadır.

## Metodoloji

Üçüncü bölümde, edebi eserleri seçmede kullanılan kriterler, eserler, eserlerin konuları, ve yazarların çalışmaları sunulmuştur. Araştırma nesnesi, bir diğer deyişle analiz edilen data / arşivimiz araştırmanın sınırları çizilerek tanımlanmıştır. Aynı bölümde edebi eserlerin okuma yöntemi olarak seçilen söylem analizi aktarılmıştır. Söylem analizi, 1980 lerin sonunda siyasi ideolojileri, kültürel ve sosyal hareketleri incelemek için, güç ve bilgi ilişkisindeki baskın olan formları ve içeriği araştıran bir yöntem olarak kullanılmaktadır (Torfing, 1999).

Toprak (2003:131), Gadamer'in edebi eserleri anlama yorumcunun tinsel ve tarihsel ufkuyla bağlıdır sözlerini kullanarak üretken bir yorumun, anlama yada açıklamaya dayalı olmadan, yorumları dile getirmek olarak açıklamaktadır. Bu nedenle söylemlerimizi yorumlarken, açıklamak yerine, temel kaygımız kendi anladığımızı sunmakla sınırlı olacaktır. Her ne kadar Gadamer anlamın tarihten, yazardan, mekandan ve diğer unsurlardan bağımsız olarak metinde doğrudan var olduğunu vurgulasa da, Dilthey metnin yazıldığı dönemden bağımsız olmadığını belirtir (Toprak, 2003: 124). Dilthey'i takiben yorumcunun işi sadece bulunulan ana değer vererek, metin ile yazar arasındaki ilişkiyi ortadan kaldırmak değildir. Eserlerin yorumlanmasında tarih dışı olmayı reddederek yorumcunun metni anlamlandırmadaki rolü kabul edilmiştir. Yorumcu hangi analiz yöntemini kullanırsa kullansın metni yeniden anlamlandırır ve metnin birden fazla anlamı olabileceği ortaya çıkar. Eserler söylem analizi kullanılarak yorumlanırken tarihsel bağlam içinde ele alınmıştır. Bu nedenle yazarın kimliği, basım tarihi önem taşımaktadır. Eserleri analiz ederken eserin yazıldığı dönemin arka planını veyahut o dönemin ruhunu da anlamadan yorumlamak çalışmamızı tarihdışı olmaktan kurtaracaktır. Böylelikle çok daha kolay bir biçimde eserlerin açıkça dile getirdiği yada sessiz kaldığı etnik kimliğini tanımlayan imajlar ve söylemlere dair vurgu eserlerin art alanı ile incelenmiştir. Ayrıca, edebi eserleri tarihsel arka planı ile vererek yorumlanmasının okuyucuların dönemin ruhunu anlamalarına yardımcı olacağı düşünülmüştür.

Azınlık gruplarını seçmede iki temel kriter kullanılmıştır. Birincisi 1923 Lozan Sözleşmesi'nin belirlediği azınlık tanımı. İkincisi ise 19. yüzyıl itibarı ile kendi

devletini kurmuş ama Türkiye'de yaşayan iki etnik gayri-muslim ve göçmen olmayan halklardır. Seçilen edebi eserler orijinal dillerinden Türkçeye çevrilmiştir. Edebi eserlerde sunulan bilginin çokluğundan dolayı datayı organize etmek ve analiz seviyelerini belirlemek oldukça sıkıntılı olmuştur. Tezin amacı Türkiye'de yaşayan Ermeni ve Rum azınlıklarının kendi kimliklerini nasıl kurdukları ve bu süreç içinde Türk kimliğini nasıl gördüklerini araştırmak olduğundan edebi eserlerde aktarılan öyküler üzerinden içerik belirlenmiştir. Dolayısı ile çalışma, ele alınan Ermeni ve Rum yazarlarınca hazırlanmış eserlerde geçtiğimiz yüz yıl üzerinden karşılaştırma yapmıştır, ancak bu süreç içerisinde kurulan bilgi ve güç ilişkisinden etkilenen tüm kaynakların incelendiği iddia edilmemektedir. Toplam olarak 29 edebi eserden 20 tanesi, (10 Ermeni edebi eseri ve 10 Rum edebi eseri) olmak üzere, azınlık gruplarına mensup entellektüel ve araştırmacıların yönlendirmesi ile seçilmiştir. Edebi eserlerden seçilen kısımların İngilizceye çevrilmesi dışında, genellikle orijinal yapıya ve metinlerin Türkçe çevirisine sadık kalınmıştır. Ancak bazı yerlerde orijinal yapıya sadık kalmak mümkün olmadığından, asıl düşünceye en uygun düşecek ifadeler kullanılmıştır.

Takip eden diğer üç bölümde ise edebi eserlerde öne çıkan söylemler üç kategori altında ele alınmıştır: Geç Osmanlı dönemi öne çıkan söylemler, Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi öne çıkan söylemler ve etnik kimlikle ilgili söylemler. Her biri ayrı bir bölüm halinde incelenmiştir. Bu bölümlerde öne çıkan söylemler Ermeni ve Rum edebi eserleri aracılığı ile karşılaştırmalı olarak yorumlanmıştır. Karşılaştırmalı yöntem ile analiz edilen olay yada olgular doğrudan gözlemlenmesi mümkün olmayan bazı özellikleri ortaya çıkarır (Burke, 1992: 23). Toplumsal bir olayı başka bir sosyal olaydan soyutlayarak, birbirleri ile karşılaştırmadan analiz etmek sağlıklı sonuçların elde edilmesini zorlaştırır. Sosyal bilimciler, bir araştırma için kavramları belirleyip, belli bir teorik yapı içine oturttuklarında, karşılaştırmalı çalışma yöntemini uygulamış olurlar (Oyen, 1990: 4).

Metodoloji bölümünde aktarıldığı gibi, her üç analiz bölümünde; Geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu dönemi, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi ve Etnik Kimlik, söylemler arasındaki ilişkileri gösteren deliller incelenmiştir. Ayrıca, söylemlerdeki sessiz kalınan noktalar, yokluklar ve karşı söylemler de saptanmıştır. Bu izlenen soykütüksel okuma yöntemi ile imajlarla azınlık kimliklerinin tarihsel bir süreç

içinde hangi söylemler üzerinden nasıl kurulduğu belirlenebilmiştir. Toplumsal ilişkiler ağında yer alan tarihsel bir kesitin fotoğrafını çekmektense, kimliklerin kurulma süreci tarihsel bir perspektiften değerlendirilmektedir (Carabine, 2001; Kendall & Wickman, 1999)

### **Geç Osmanlı Dönemi**

Geç Osmanlı döneminde edebi eserlerde öne çıkan en belirgin tema “sürgün” söylemidir. Sürgün söylemi hem Rum hem de Ermeni eserlerinde oldukça yoğun işlenmiştir. Sürgüne gönderilme temasında en çok vurgu yaşanan acılardır. Yaşadıkları topraklardan sürülen etnik gruplar, sürekli geçmiş günlere özlem duyarlar. Ayrıca sürgün yollarında kaybedilen yakınlar ve ölüm teması işlenir. Evlat edinilen çocuklar ise sürgün söylemini destekleyen diğer ortak olan temalardan biridir. Sürgün söyleminde genelde “halk”ı temsil eden Türkler, yardımcı olarak kabul edilmekte, yaşanan olumsuzluklardan İttihat ve Terakki Partisi ve işbirliği yaptıkları Almanlar sorumlu tutulmaktadır. Etnik kimlik kategorisinde de inceleneceği gibi “düşman” analogisi sürgün kararını alan ve yollarda uğradıkları zulüme neden olan Osmanlı devleti ve onun temsil gücünü taşıyan askerler, zaptiyeler, kaymakamlar için kullanılır. Göç tersine, yani Anadolu içlerine doğru geri döndüğünde, Rumlar’ın aksine Ermeniler’in bir kısmı Anadolu’ya, vatan olarak kabul ettikleri topraklara geri dönerler. Rum nüfus ise mübadele ile bir daha geri dönmek üzere, İstanbul hariç, Anadolu topraklarına veda etmiştir.

Eserler sürgün kararı ve uygulaması konusunda sessiz kalmaktadırlar. Ayrıca, 19. yüzyıla damgasını vurmuş olan milliyetçilik ve kendi kaderini tayin etme hakkı üzerinden ulus devlet kurma istekleri hiç dile getirilmez. Osmanlı’dan koparak bağımsızlıklarını elde etme istekleri, bunun için gerçekleştirdikleri mücadeleler, çeteler ve isyanlar gibi, konusunda hiç yorum yapılmaz, ve tüm bu olaylar birbirinden bağımsızmış gibi sunulur. Sürgün kararını etkileyen bu tarz isyan ve hareketler konusunda sessiz kalınır. Hatta, bu karar Rumları ve Ermenileri yok etme planı olarak sunulmaktadır. Sürgün böyle bir yaklaşımın sadece uygulamalarından bir tanesi olarak sunulmaktadır. Öte yandan, sürgüne gönderilmiş, dışlanmış, yani “öteki” olarak tanımlanmış etnik gruplar, kendi etnik

gruplarının aidiyetini tanımlamak için bu tarz olayları ana malzeme olarak kullanmışlardır.

Osmanlı devletinin yıkılma döneminde yaşanan olaylar, diğer ulusların, Bulgarların, Yunanlıların ve Ermenilerin uluslaşma ve ulus devlet olma yolunda ilerlemeleri ile eş dönemli olmuştur. Bu nedenle bir yanda yıkılmakta olan bir devleti koruma çabaları söz konusu iken öte yanda bağımsızlık için eylem hazırlığı içinde olan uluslar vardır. İmparatorluklardan ayrılan her bir ulus geçmişe damgasını vurmuş olan ortak yaşamları sıfırlayarak, yeni kurdukları ulus devletler ile yeni tarihler yazmışlardır. Bu yaklaşım, daha önce farklı etnik gruplarla birlikte yaşanmış dönemleri tarih dışı bırakmaktadır. Bir etnik kimliği baskın kabul ederek, tüm ulus devlet modelini, bu baskın kimlik üzerinden kurmaktadır.

Ermeniler, 19 yüzyıl itibarı ile bağımsızlıklarını kazanmak için mücadele etmişlerdir. Direniş hareketleri ve Osmanlı'nın düşmanı olan Ruslar ile işbirliği yapmaları Ermenilerin sürgüne gönderilmesi kararına dayanak teşkil etmiştir. Türk tarafı için düşmanla işbirliği yapan "iç düşman" ve "hain" haline dönüşen Ermeniler, kendilerini bağımsızlık için mücadele eden "direnişçiler" olarak görmektedirler. Artık uzlaşma platformunun hiç kalmadığı çatışma içinde bir toplum modeli vardır ve etnik kimliklere göre cinayetler işlenmektedir.

Türk milliyetçilik akımlarının kaotik Birinci Dünya Savaşı döneminde yükselmesi azınlık politikaları üzerinde belirleyici bir rol oynamıştır. Gayrimüslimlerin milliyetçilik akımlarına verdiği tepki ile Türk milliyetçiliği karşılıklı olarak birbirini beslemiştir. Bu ideolojik etkileşim olumsuz politikalara neden olmuş ve toplumsal şiddeti tırmandırmıştır. Sonuçta sınırlar değişmiş, bölünmeler yaşanmıştır. Karşılıklı yaşanan acılar ve şiddet ise tezahürünü edebi eserlerde bulmuştur.

Osmanlı kategorisinde en çok işlenen ikinci söylem din değiştirmedir. Sürgün söylemi ile karşılaştırıldığında az sayıda edebi eserle desteklenmesine rağmen, eserlerde oldukça yoğun bir şekilde işlenmiştir. Ermeni eserlerinde din değiştirme (*ihtida*) insanların buldukları mekanda güvenli yaşama ve sürgüne tabi tutulmama nedeni ile öne çıkmaktadır. Oysa Rum eserlerinde ise din, etnik kimliğin bağlayıcı bir unsuru olarak görülmekte, ihtida söz konusu olsa bile

Hıristiyanlık gizli gizli sürdürülmektedir. Ermeni eserlerinde Birinci Dünya Savaşı dönemi itibarı ile sürgün, ölüm, can kaygısı ile ihtida öne çıkarken, Rum eserlerinde dinleri konusunda asla taviz vermek istemeyen ve Yunan mitolojisi ile yüceltilen bir Rum kimliği söz konusudur.

Bir diğer Rum kimliği olan Pontus Rumları ise etnik aidiyetlerini tamamen din üzerinden tanımlamaktadırlar. Andreadis'in eserindeki ihtida eden bazı Pontuslu'lar, resmi makamlara duyulan korkunun yanısıra krom madeni işletmelerini ellerinden kaçırmamak ve bölgenin siyasi kontrolünü ellerinde bulundurmak için din değiştirmişlerdir. Görünürde Müslüman olan Pontuslular, Hıristiyan kimliklerini gizleyerek, yeraltında kurdukları kiliselerde gizlice ibadetlerine devam etmişlerdir. Rum eserlerinde ise din söyleminde iki ayrı tema izlenmektedir. Pontus Rumları'nı konu alan eserler Hıristiyan olduklarını gizleyerek görünüşte Müslüman olanlara vurgu yaparken, Ege kıyısında ve adalarda yaşayan Rumları konu alan eserlerde ise, özelde Müslümanlığın genelde dinin nasıl algılandığına dair temalar işlenir. Pontus Rumları ile Ege kıyısındaki Rumlar arasındaki bu farklılığın iktisadi koşullar tarafından belirlendiğine inanılmaktadır. Ege kıyısında hem coğrafi koşulların cömertliği ve bölgenin verimli toprakların varlığı yanısıra ticaretle uğraşan gayri Müslimlerin bu bölgede yoğunlaşması, bu grubun din konusunda herhangi bir sorun yaşamasını engellemiştir. Dolayısı ile toplumsal yapı içerisinde herhangi bir tehdit altında kalarak din değiştirmek yada dini ön plana çıkararak bir eylemde bulunmalarına gerek kalmamıştır.

Pontuslular'ın din değiştirme söyleminde en temel gerekçe geçim derdidir. Bölgenin tek gelir kaynağı olan madenlerin işletmesine sahip olmayı istemektedirler. Bu sayede bölgenin yönetimini de ele geçirmiş olacaklardır. İsteklerini gerçekleştirebilmek için, topluluk içinde imzalanmış gizli bir aktin ile ikiyüzyıl boyunca Hristiyan kimliklerini gizlemişlerdir. Bu durum Pontuslular'ın etnik kimlik ve grup aidiyetlerin pekiştiren bir mekanizmaya dönüşmüştür. Din, Karadenizli Pontus Rumları'nın Ege Rumlarına göre kendi aidiyetleri sağlaması konusunda dah fazla önem taşımaktadır. "Öteki" olan Osmanlı, yani Müslümanlar karşısında gizli de olsa Hıristiyan kimlikleri ile var olabilmişlerdir. Tanzimat ile gayrimüslimlere sunulan eşitlik hakkı 200 yıldır süregelen bu gizli aktin

bozulmasına neden olmuştur. Kendilerini ifşa etmeye karar verip Hristiyan olduklarını ilan etmişlerdir. Bu yüzden Türkler tarafından tenasür (din değiştirenler) olarak adlandırılmışlardır.

Eserler din konusunu etnik kimliğin en önemli vurgusu olarak öne çıkarmaktadır. Din, dil ve ırk birliği tanımlanan milli kimliklerin temeli bu dönemde atılmaktadır. Din değiştirilmiş olsa dahi, uygun zaman ve mekanda, tekrar eski dine dönülmekte, değiştirilen adlar tekrar değiştirilmektedir. Dolayısıyla, din belli bir gruba toplumsal aidiyeti sağlayan en önemli mekanizma olarak öne çıkmaktadır

### **Erken Dönem Türkiye Cumhuriyeti**

Erken dönem Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kategorisinde öne çıkan söylemler; Küçük Asya felaketi, Nüfus Mübadelesi, Varlık Vergisi ve 6-7 Eylül Olayları'dır. Osmanlı'nın son dönemindeki devleti kurtarma söylemi, Cumhuriyet döneminin ilk yıllarında da süreklilik arzeder. Söylem unsurları, "Türkçülük" ve "milli devlet"tir. Bu unsurlar edebi eserlere yansımış, gayrimüslimlerin kendi kimliklerini "öteki" olarak nasıl tanımladıklarını dile getirmiştir.

Öne çıkan söylemlerin ilki Türk lideri Mustafa Kemal üzerinedir. Yükselen milliyetçi değerler karşısında Osmanlı toprakları ve Müslüman tebaa daha fazla bütünlüğünü koruyamaz, savaşlar ve toprak kaybı yaşanır. Yaşanan savaşların kahramanları ise Başkumandan Enver ve onun yardımcısı Mustafa Kemal'dir. Savaşlar sona erip Cumhuriyet kurulduğunda, daha önce yapılan hataları tekrarlamamak için Mustafa Kemal, ülkeyi sadece Müslüman Türkler üzerinden kurarak, yeni bir homojen ulus devlete dönüştürmüştür. Edebi eserlere göre Türkiye, artık Müslüman Türklerin ülkesidir.

1920'li yılların hakim teması Anadolu'nun Yunanlı'lar tarafından işgalidir. Osmanlı ordusunda görev almış Rumlar, şimdi Yunan ordusunda Türklere karşı savaşmaktadırlar. Birlik ve beraberlik duygusu içinde huzur dolu günler gitmiş, Türkler artık "öteki", hatta "düşman" olmuştur.

Yunanlılar için Anadolu'nun işgal edilmesi geçici değil, daimidir. Bu şekilde Batı Anadolu ve Yunanistan arasında kalan Ege bir iç deniz olacak, *Megola Idea (Büyük Ülkü)* gerçekleşecek ve Büyük Yunanistan kurulmuş olacaktır. *Megola Idea* yani Hristiyan Bizans İmparatorluğunun geçmiş ihtişamını tekrar yaşayacaklardır (Satiriyu, 242). Yunan Kral'ı Konstantin, Haçlı seferlerinden sonra ilk kez Küçük Asya'ya giden ilk Hristiyan hükümdardır. Osmanlı'da yaşayan Rumlar bu durumu coşku ile karşılamaktadırlar. Eserlerde barış içinde yaşadıklarını vurgulamalarına rağmen bu topraklardaki esaretlerinden kurtulmanın sarhoşluğu ile Rumlar yüzlerce yıl birlikte yaşadıkları müslümanlara karşı son derece acımasız bir tutum sergilemektedirler (Volkan & Itzkowitz, 2002: 132).

Bir diğer söylem ise büyük mübadeledir. Eserlerde mübadelenin hukuki boyutundan çok topraklarını terketmek zorunda kalan insanların dramı anlatılır. Lozan Sözleşmesi ile Türkiye Cumhuriyet'i kuruluşunu dünyaya kabul ettirmiş hem de Osmanlı'nın yıllarca mücadele ettiği "iç düşman" dan, gayrimüslim unsurlardan kurtulmuştur. Azınlıkların durumu Lozan Sözleşmesi'nin 37. – 45. maddeler düzenler. Tüm Türk vatandaşlarına tanınan haklar Müslüman ve gayrimüslim farkı gözetmeksizin uygulanacaktır. Ancak gayrimüslim statüsüne sahip olanlar sadece üç cemaat Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudi cemaatleri sahiptir. Resmi makamlar diğer cemaatlerin Lozan'da belirtilen haklarından feragat ettiğini açıklamaktadır (Oran, 2003: 115). Genelde mübadele ile Yunanistan'ın ekonomik açıdan karlı çıktığı ancak siyasi açıdan zarar ettiği, Türkiye'nin ise siyasi kazancına karşılık ekonomik açıdan kayıplar verdiği aktarılır (Aktar, 2002: 20).

Mübadele Rumlar açısından Küçük Asya'ya yapılan Yunan seferinin felakete bitmesi ve *Megola İdeanın* sona ermesi demektir. Edebi eserlerde mübadelenin nedenleri konusunda sürekli bir sessizlik vardır. Sadece yaşanan an tasvir edilir. Dile getirilmeyen en önemli husus ise ulus devlet olma sürecinde yükselen homojenleştirme politikalarıdır. Bu politika içinde eritilemeyecek olan diğer etnik yada dini kimlikler ya bastırılmakta, başka yerlere sürülmekte yada ikinci sınıf vatandaş konumuna düşürülmektedir Bir millileşme akımı söz konusudur (Smith, 1994: 196). Cumhuriyet'in milliyetçi seçkinleri de bu yöntemi izleyerek azınlıklardan kurtulmak istemişler, Yunanistan ile halkların mübadelesini kabul etmişlerdir (Aktar, 2002:18). Çünkü, yeni kurulan devletin siyasi elitleri, farklı etnik

grupların birlikte yaşabilmelerini sağlayacak siyasi ve yasal düzenlemelere henüz sahip değildirlir.

Varlık Vergisi uygulaması Cumhuriyet döneminin söylemlerinden bir diğeridir. Eserlerde, sürekli gayrimüslimlerin mal varlığına el koyma teması işlenir. Olayların analizine hiç girilmez. Sürekli mağdur olanın mağduriyeti, yani gayrimüslim olanın mağdur olması dile getirilir. Oysa ne ülke ekonomisinden, ne de bütün halkın yaşadığı yoksunluktan bahsedilmez. Savaş koşulları ve savaş ekonomisi de dile getirilmeyen konular arasındadır. 4305 Sayılı Varlık Vergisi 11 Kasım 1942 – 15 Mart 1944 tarihleri arasında uygulanan vergi kanunu oldukça tartışma yaratmıştır. Bazılarına göre zorunluluktan dolayı alınması gereken bir vergi iken bazılarına göre ise azınlık karşıtı bir “Türkleştirme” politikasıdır. (Aktar, 1999: 10).

6-7 Eylül 1955 olayları Cumhuriyet döneminde ele alınan son söylemdir. Olayları aktaran çeşitli edebi eserlerde hem “dost” olan Türkler’den hem de “yıkıcı” olan devletle işbirliği yapan “aşırı milliyetçiler” ve “fakirleşmiş çapulcu” Türkler’den bahsedilir. Sonuçları çok yıkıcı olan olayların ardından çok sayıda Rum ve Ermeni İstanbul’u terk edip yurtdışına giderler. Olaylarda yine “güvenilmez” olan devlet ve onun temsilcileri vardır. Eserlerde sürekli yıkım ve yaşanan travmalar açıkça dile getirilir. Ancak sessiz kalınan nokta ise neden bu olayların yaşandığıdır. Uluslararası politikada gayrimüslim nüfusun Türkiye için bir koz olarak kullanılmıştır. Devlet tarafından koz olarak kullanmak ise onların hiçbir zaman ‘biz’ in bir parçası olmadıklarının vurgulanması anlamına gelir. Güven ilişkisinin kurulamadığı bu yurttaş ve devlet ilişkisinde azınlıklar kendilerini hep “dışlanmış” ve “öteki” olarak görerek, Türk imajını bu çerçevede kapsamında oluşturmuşlardır.

6-7 Eylül olayları milli duyguları oldukça rencide eden Kıbrıs meselesinin ortaya çıkması ile tetiklenmiştir. Kıbrıs’ın ve hatta diğer adaların elden çıkma korkusu milli sınırlar için ciddi bir tehdit olarak alınmış, milli duyguların ortaya çıkarılması için Menderes hükümeti gereken koşulları yaratmıştır. Milli duygular 6-7 Eylül gecesi ırkçılığa dönüşmüş, zengin gayrimüslimlerden hıncı alınmış, öfke “öteki”ni temsil eden, Kıbrıs’ı da almak isteyen, ülke içinde zenginliğe de sahip olan “iç düşman” a yani “gavurlara” yönlendirilmiştir. Bu nedenle 6-7 Eylül olayları hem siyasi hem de iktidasi temele dayanmaktadır. Bu politikanın devamı olarak 1964 yılında

Yunanistan'a göz dağı verme amacıyla Rum'ların sınırdışı edilmesidir. Bu politika azınlık karşıtı politikaların istikrar arz ettiğini gösterir. Bu durum Türk vatandaşı olan gayrimüslimlerin devlete olan güven ilişkisini son derece sarsmıştır. Her an canından ve malından olma korkusu ile yaşamak zorunda kalmıştır. Hep "öteki" konumunda kalacağı bu politikalar aracılığı ile açığa çıkmıştır. Bu durum, azınlıkların Türk ulusal kimliği karşısında kendi kimliğini sürekli "öteki" olarak üretmesine neden olmuştur.

### **Etnik Kimlik**

Üçüncü kategori olan etnik kimlik başlığı altında Ermeni, Pontus, Rum kimlikleri incelenmiştir.

Eserlerde barış halinde yaşanan geçmişe duyulan büyük bir özlem ve kaybedilmiş yaşamların arayışı vardır. Varlık vergisi, 6-7 Eylül gibi olaylar nedeniyle azınlıkların yaşamlarına hakim olan duygu korkudur. Her an şu anki yaşam mevcudiyetlerini de yitirebileceği düşüncesi ile yaşamaktadırlar. Bu korkuların varlığı ve devletle ters düşmeme kaygısı Türkiye Ermenileri'nin muhafazakar olarak adlandırılmalarına ve Ermeni siyaseti içinde yer almayan muhafazakarlar olarak görülmelerine neden olmuştur. Ancak bu tavır ne Türk devletini ne de diaspora Ermenileri'ni memnun etmiştir. Türkiye Ermenileri her iki tarafça da kendilerinden olmayan, "öteki" olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Oysa Anadolu Ermenilerini temsil eden Ermeni köy edebiyatı yazarlarının çoğu "kardeşlik" temasına vurgu yaparlar. Anadolu kökenli olan bu yazarlar, eserlerinde ne milliyetçilik ne etnik kimlik ne de siyasi taleplerle ilgilidirler. Diaspora Ermenilerinin durumu ise farklıdır. Yaşanan zulüm hikayeleri ailelerin temel sohbet konusu olmuş, çocuklar korkunç hikayelerle büyümüşlerdir. Diaspora Ermenilerinin acısı hiç dinmemiştir, dolayısı ile beklentileri Anadolu Ermenileri'nin beklentileri ile örtüşmemektedir.

Pontus eserleri yaşanan olumsuz olayların nedenini Avrupa devletleri'nin sorumsuzluğuna bağlar. Köklerini 1453'te Konstantinopolis (İstanbul), 1461'de de Trapezunda (Trabzon) bulan bu sorumsuzluk, Almanya ve Avusturya'nın işbirliği sonucunda, 1914-1918 yılları arasında, İttihatçılar önce Ermenileri kıyıma

uğratmışlardır. Daha sonra yine batılı güçlerin kayıtsız kalması sonucu 1919-1922 yılları arasında binlerce Elen zorla, şiddet kullanılarak evinden, yurdundan kovulmuştur (1999b: 94-95).

Eserlere göre Pontuslular'ın amacı Osmanlı'dan bağımsız bir devlet kurmak, asimilasyondan kurtulmak, kendi dil ve kültürüne sahip çıkmaktır. Pontuslular Türk ve Ermenilerle birlikte yaşadıkları toprakları yalnızca kendilerine ait görmekte ve diğer etnik unsurların varlığını geçici kabul etmektedirler. Bu da negatif, eşitsiz ve ırkçı bir milliyetçi yaklaşımdır. Bastırılmışlığın geri dönüşü olarak tanımlanabilecek bu milliyetçilik anlayışı, kendine ait bir devlet özlemini kendi azınlıklarını ezmeye muktedir bir devlet özlemine dönüşmektedir.

Rum etnik kimliklerini belirleyen en önemli söylem *Megalo Idea'dır* (Büyük Ülkü). Pontuslular'da olduğu gibi Büyük Ülkü fikrinin temelleri 1453'de İstanbul kaybedildikten sonra atılmıştır. 19. yüzyılda bir ideoloji haline almıştır. Büyük ülkü Klasik Yunan ve Bizans Hellenizmine ait bütün toprakların yeniden doğmuş ulus için sahiplenilmesini öngören bir Yunan doktrinidir (2002: 56). Bizans ve Hellenistik döneme ait bu doktrinler Yunan milliyetçiliğinin temeli olmuş ve Rum üst kimliğini oluşturmuştur. Bağımsız Yunanistan kurulduğunda ise en büyük destek Osmanlı'da yaşayan *millet-i rumdan* gelmiştir. Bu durum, Balkan savaşları ile bütünleşince, Türkler içinde milli bilinci uyandıran bir süreç haline gelmiştir

Osmanlı'nın ekonomik refah içersinde olduğu dönemlerde genel olarak tüm cemaatlerin barış içinde yaşadığını söyleyebiliriz. Bozulan ekonomik düzenle birlikte Osmanlı devleti güvenliği sağlayamaz hale geldiğinde bu durum değişmiş cemaatler arasındaki ilişkiyi temsil eden "kardeşliğin" yerini "düşmanlık" almıştır.

Sonuç olarak analizde, tarihsel nedenler itibarıyla, azınlık imajları / etnik kimlikleri bastırılmış olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu kimlikler, "öteki" olarak tanımlanan "zalim" Türklere karşısında "özgürlük" ve "bağımsızlık" mücadeleleri ile haklılık kazanarak oluşmuştur. Bu "negatif" Türk imajı "siyasi otorite" ile bütünleşirken, "sıradan" Türk insanı, bazen "kardeşlik" ve "birlikte barış içinde yaşamak" gibi ifadeler ile temsil edilmektedir.

Ötekileştirme yalnızca etnik aidiyet değil fiziksel özellikler ile de yapılmaktadır. Kimliğin taşıyıcısı olan beden, ırksal özellikler vurgulanarak hor görülmektedir. Farklılığa tahammülsüzlük mikro boyuta, yani kültür, etnik kimlik gibi soyut özelliklerden somut fiziksel özelliklere indirgenmiştir. Billig'in "banal milliyetçilik" kavramında bahsettiği gibi gündelik yaşamda milliyetçilik sürekli üretilmektedir. Kitle iletişim araçları kullanılarak bedenler makbul olan ve olmayan şeklinde ayrıştırılmakta ve milliyetçilik günlük yaşamda sürekli üretilmektedir: Zenginliği simgeleyen şişman Yahudi, kara kaşlı Ermeni, şivesi bozuk şark çıbanlı Kürt gibi. Fiziki farklardan kültürel değerlere kadar genişletilen ötekileştirme, farklı kültürlere ve kimliklere yönelik hoşgörüyü azaltmıştır.

Edebi eserlerde Rum ve Ermeni azınlık grupları Türklerle olan ilişkilerini genellikle "kardeşçe" olarak tanımlamaktadırlar. Ancak siyasi ya da toplumsal bir sorun yaşadıklarında "kardeşlik" temasını arka plana atarak kendi etnik ve dini farklılıklarını öne çıkarmaktadırlar. Eserlerde dile getirilen temalar birbirlerini destekleyen farklı anlatıları bir araya getiren yelpaze gibidir. Söylem yelpazesinde egemen olan tema "öteki" temasıdır. Yelpazenin en uç noktasına "düşman, yok edilmesi gereken Türkler yada Müslümanlar" yerleşirken diğer uca "kardeşlik" teması oturur. Genelde hakim olan yaklaşım ise "biz kardeşiz, birlikte yaşadık, ama yine de biz farklıyız" söylemidir. Bu temaların edebi eserlerde öne çıkmasının nedenlerinden bir tanesi ise her iki cemaatin de kendi cemaat ilişkilerini güçlendirerek, cemaatin kendi aidiyetini sağlamlaştırmak olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Toplumsal formasyon içinde farklılıklarının vurgulanması ise homojenliğin eşit ve demokratik koşullar olmadıkça mümkün olamayacağını belirtmek içindir. Son olarak bu söylemler ile farklılıkları, sağlanmadıklarına inandıkları eşit ve demokratik koşulları, kendilerini ötekileştiren Türkler'e, hatta Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne hatırlatmak istemektedirler

## **VITA**

Nuran Savařkan Durak was born in 1968 in Eskiřehir. She received her B.A. in Public Administration from Middle East Technical University in 1990. She completed the Master of Science in Political Science and Public Administration in Middle East Technical University in 1994. She started to work in Public Administration Institute for Turkey and Middle East as a research and teaching assistant since 1996. She earned an Institute of Social Studies, the Master of Arts Diploma in Development Studies' for Policies of Alternative Development Strategies in the Netherlands in 2002.